

# Theology on the Web.org.uk

*Making Biblical Scholarship Accessible*

This document was supplied for free educational purposes. Unless it is in the public domain, it may not be sold for profit or hosted on a webserver without the permission of the copyright holder.

If you find it of help to you and would like to support the ministry of Theology on the Web, please consider using the links below:



Buy me a coffee

<https://www.buymeacoffee.com/theology>



PATREON

<https://patreon.com/theologyontheweb>

**PayPal**

<https://paypal.me/robbradshaw>

---

A table of contents for *Transactions of the Baptist Historical Society* can be found here:

[https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles\\_tbhs\\_01.php](https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles_tbhs_01.php)

# Transactions

of the

## Baptist Historical Society.



### James Toppe and the Tiverton Anabaptists.

TIVERTON is a parish of very large extent. The town and mother church are well situated at the centre, but in the outlying districts of the parish there were hamlets of some importance, the religious needs of which were met by subordinate chapels. We shall have something to say of the remote chapelry of Cove in the course of this article. The ecclesiastical arrangements of the town were peculiar. The rectory was not a solidarity but was divided into four "portions," Pitt, Clare, Tidcombe, and Priors, covering the whole parish and supporting different clergy in the mother church. Thus there were four rectors and there was opportunity for differences of theological accent to be concurrently represented in the official clergy of the parish. The town rose into prominence as a convenient mart for the woollen and cloth trade of the West of England. Like other industrial towns in England it entered whole-heartedly into the movement for the reformation of religion and in the days of Elizabeth became strongly Protestant, at the same time retaining a keen

sense of the importance of religious worship and instruction.

There were some of the inhabitants of Tiverton who concluded from their study of the New Testament that the Anglican Church was not sufficiently reformed and that a simpler form of Church government was explicitly set out in the Scriptures. It was from this group that the founders of the Tiverton Baptist Church appear to have emerged. The Rev. H. B. Case, in his history of this church, looks to foreign Anabaptists as its originators. In my opinion it was a thoroughly native movement. The names of its early adherents are those of families long known in the district. There was intercourse, it is true, with kindred believers in Holland, but the Tiverton Anabaptists displayed independence of judgment and a remarkable power of resistance to leading ideas of the Dutch Mennonites with whom they corresponded. The town was prosperous, and the noble bequests of Peter Blundell (1520-1601) and Robert Chilcot (died 1609) for education point to the intellectual activity of the inhabitants. Some other bequests may be noted. In 1619 Elizabeth Berry, widow, left a charity for ten weavers of Tiverton. John Berry, "clothier" (that is, a manufacturer of cloth), left money in 1623 to support "a lecture in divinity" if it could be established. In the same year another John Berry, of Kentisbeare, gave to Tiverton a tenement, the profits to go to "four poor men whereof two to be husbandmen, one a fuller, and the other a weaver." In 1628, Richard Capron, clothier, left John Foxe's "Acts and Monuments" to remain in St. Peter's Church. Hence the entry in the Warden's Accounts:

"1628 Paid Mr John Cogan for a chayne to tye the Booke of Martyrs which Richard Capern gave to remayne in the Church of Tiverton, S[outh] aisle."

It is from the Warden's Accounts that we get a valuable sidelight upon the religious history of Tiverton and definite mention of the Anabaptists. As early as 1617 we have this entry:

“Rec<sup>d</sup> of certen psons for their absence from church of Sabaoth dayes as by a particuler accompte thereto appeareth. 6s.”

This probably refers to those who absented themselves on account of conscientious conviction. By the year 1626 we know that a church of Anabaptists was in being at Tiverton,<sup>1</sup> in fellowship with kindred churches at London, Lincoln, Sarum, and Coventry. These churches sprang from the movement initiated by John Smith and subsequently led by Thomas Helwys and John Murton. In all likelihood those who were absenting themselves from the parish church in 1617 were the nucleus of the Anabaptist church which comes into view in 1626. Two years later the Tiverton churchwardens give us the names of eight members of this church and refer to two unnamed wives of members, all of whom were fined for absence from the parish church service. The wardens were also busied in 1628 in securing and serving a process for “Mr Webber of Cove to appear before the bishop.”<sup>2</sup> It occurred to me that if these Tiverton Anabaptists were sufficiently well off to be fined it was likely that their estates would be large enough to leave by will, and that some information might be gleaned as to their condition from that quarter. The wardens had to “present” the names of those absenting themselves from Church at the Bishop's Visitation. Here is a typical entry:—

“laid out at Collompton at the Bishoppes visitacon

---

1 Evans, *Early English Baptists*, ii. 26.

2 Abraham Boobier was paid 3/- for serving this process. *Warden's Accounts*.

for receiving of our pſentmt 4<sup>s</sup> 4<sup>d</sup> and for our  
dinner and horſe meate 17<sup>s</sup> 2<sup>d</sup>

all is xxi.<sup>s</sup> vi.<sup>d</sup>”

They mention “charges at three ſeverall tymes about  
or Anabaptiſts” as though this group was well known  
in Tiverton. The liſt as given by Rev. Edwin S.  
Chalk, in his hiſtory of St. Peter’s, Tiverton, 1905,  
is as follows:

“An accompte of moneys levied on the Anabaptiſts for their abſence  
from Church in the year 1628.

Imprimis at Eaſter Sessions the 26<sup>th</sup> of April. Charity Berry 4/-.

Of Iſrael Cockram 4/-, of John Tucker the ſame tyme 4/-, of John Tucker,  
the 8<sup>th</sup> of June, 4/-.

Of Iſrael Cockram and Charity Berry the xxx<sup>th</sup> of September, 8/-.

Of Richard Berry, the xx<sup>ist</sup> of January, for himſelf and his wife, 8/-.

Of John Tucker the ſame daye for himſelf and his wife, 8/-.

Of John Gibbons, the ix<sup>th</sup> day of February, 4/-.

Of Iſrael Tappe, for huſbande, the ſame day, 4/-.

—Of James Tappe, the xiv<sup>th</sup> of March, for himſelf and his wife, 8/-.

Of Richard Berry, the ſame time, for himſelf and his wife, 8/-.

Of John Skibbon, the ſame tyme, 2/-.

The ſum total of the Anabaptiſts is £3 10s. 0d.”

The reſults of my reſearch ſerve to clear up one or  
two obſcure points and bring to light a few freſh  
details.

Fiſt let us look at the caſe of Mr. Webber, of  
Cove. I take him to be Thomas Webber, clerk in  
holy orders, curate of the chapel of St. John the  
Baptiſt at Cove. This chapelry is in the northern part  
of Tiverton pariſh, on the borders of Bampton, ſome  
four and a half miles away from the mother-church.  
The ſtipend was ſmall. If the curate carried the  
attenders at his chapel along with him in his opinions  
he could take a fairly independent line without much  
interference. But Thomas Webber ſeems to have  
gone too far. Being a cleric, he was not proceeded  
againſt at the “Sessions” like the lay Anabaptiſts,  
but the ſtrong arm of the Biſhop of Exeter, Joſeph

Hall,<sup>3</sup> was invoked to bring him to order. It seems as though Webber gave way. He appended his name as a witness to the entry of the Induction of James Hartnoll to "Pitt Portion" of Tiverton Rectory, January 18, 1630-31, in this form: Thos. Webber, "curate of Cove." He evidently retained his curacy. If he went his own way with his farming and preaching at Cove he was maintaining something of the old independent spirit of the chapelry. An Elizabethan document bears the note that "by reason of many lewd marriages the chapel at Cove is called a lawless church."<sup>4</sup> I found the will of Thomas Webber in the Registry of the Archdeaconry Court of Exeter. It is mainly in his own handwriting, and dated May 1, 1647. He does not give any description of himself, but filed with the will is an inventory giving particulars and describing him as "clarke, late of the pish of Tyverton deceased." His wearing apparel is appraised at £3, his books at 6s. 8d., "corne in the ground" at £4, "three swine hoggs £2." He mentions his wife, son, married daughter, and little grandson, to whom he left "one redd heifer." The declaratory statement at the opening of his will is brief and simple for that period:

"I doe give & bequeath my Soule into the hands of Almighty God my Maker, Saviour and Redeemer and my body to the earth."

A generation later the Baptists were strong in the northern parts of Tiverton parish and over the border in Bampton. Under the Indulgence of 1672 the following application reached the office on 25 May:

---

<sup>3</sup> Hall had been offered the post of headmaster of Blundell's School at Tiverton on its opening. No bishop understood the position of the Brownists and Anabaptists better than he. His first controversial work was directed against John Smith and John Robinson. He was consecrated to the see of Exeter 23 Dec., 1627.

<sup>4</sup> *Chronicles of Twyford*, 1892, p. 132, by F. J. Snell.

Licence is prayed for Richard Hooper to preach to a Congregaõn of people beinge of the Baptist Judgm<sup>t</sup> in his owne howse in Bampton in Devon The like for W<sup>m</sup> Facey to preach in Martin Dunsfords howse in Tiverton in Devon being of the same Judgem<sup>t</sup> as above

Facey and Dunsford got their licences the same day, Hooper on June 10. On November 18 a group of Baptist licences was granted in Somerset and Devon, including the houses of John Ball and Tho: Bryant, of Bampton.

Away on the north-east border of Tiverton parish is a farm marked on a map of 1844 as "*Baptist Frost*."<sup>5</sup> Did its name originate from the Baptists of this early period?

Turning to the laity who were fined in 1628, we have a group of "Berrys"—Charity Berry, fined twice, with Richard Berry and his wife, also fined twice each. I have not identified Charity Berry. The Berry family was largely represented in the Tiverton district. The will of one Richard Berry, of Tiverton, was proved December 13, 1628,<sup>6</sup> but this could hardly have been our man. I think the Anabaptist was Richard Berry, of Tiverton, "weaver," who made his will on September 24, 1633, which was proved on the following December 6. The inventory of his goods describes him as "yeoman." We may note the following bequests:

"I doe give unto my eldest sonne John Berry on[e] Bible"

"I doe give unto John Berry the younger on[e]

---

<sup>5</sup> *History of Tiverton*, by Lt.-Col. Harding, part 2, p. 16. Mr. Arthur Fisher, coroner for Tiverton, writes 25 April, 1913: "The farm you mention I know as '*Baptist Frost*,' but I have no knowledge of the origin of the name."

<sup>6</sup> "Recd. for Richard Berry's buryall v.s." *Tiverton Warden's Accounts*, 1628.

paire of loomes warpinge bars, quill tornes and all other furniture thereunto belonging”

“I doe give unto sixe poore men of the Easter[n] Almes hows<sup>7</sup> vj<sup>d</sup> a pece”

The residue he leaves to “Debora my nowe wiffe.” We may ask whether he was not previously married to Charity Berry.

Tuckers also abounded in Tiverton, but I think we must identify the John Tucker who so stoutly refused to attend the Anglican services, with the John Tucker who came into possession of his little patrimony in the spring of 1628. His father, Richard Tucker, alias Glover, left a fair amount of household effects, betokening a comfortable middle-class family. John Tucker himself appears to have died in 1634. A certain Thomas Tucker, who died in 1648, was in business at Tiverton as an apothecary.<sup>8</sup>

We turn now to Israel Cockram, one of the first to be fined. The unusual Christian name enables us to identify her with certainty. I found the will of “William Cockeram of Tyverton in the County of Devon, Pewtrer,” in the registry at Exeter. It is a nuncupative will, dated April 3, 1623, and proved on May 6, 1623. The following clause describes the family:

“He gave & bequeathed all his worldly goods unto Israell Cockeram his wife, unto Abigaile Cockeram his daughter, unto Caleb Cockeram

7 The Almshouses in Gold Street were generally called the Eastern Almshouses, to distinguish them from those in the western part of the town.

8 The question of the lawfulness of bearing arms was discussed by Toppe in his letter to Holland. The matter had a practical bearing in English life. Regular musters were held and yeomen were responsible for providing certain arms. I find the following entry in the *Tiverton Warden's Accounts* under date 1628: “paid John Rowe for keeping of the pishe armour this yeare, vii.s. vi.d.” The State Papers disclose the fact that Richard Tucker, of Tiverton, was a defaulter at the musters, but Henry Ayshford, the deputy lieutenant of the county, was able to report on Feb. 20, 1638/9, that Tucker had then come into line. Was Richard Tucker's default due to religious scruples?



his sonne and unto an Infant then in the wombe (but since borne and named Benonie) to be equally divided betwixte them”

If Israel married again she was to give security to the overseers of the will for the payment of the portions of the children when they came of age. One of the said overseers was “Richard Berry of Tiverton.” The inventory discloses a well-stocked home, with “Wares in the Shoppe” to the value of £44 12s. 2d. Israel signed the Administration Bond thus: “Isra<sup>e</sup>ll Cockram,” putting in the “e” as an afterthought. Did Israel marry again? I think she did, and I think she married James Toppe as her second husband. She was fined 4s. on Sep<sup>r</sup> 30, 1628, as “Israel Cockram” and on “the ix day of February” in the following year Israel Tappe was fined 4s. for her “husbande.” I conjecture that between those two dates she had married. I am confirmed in this conjecture because the will of James Toppe, which we shall consider later, makes his daughter “Abigaile” sole executrix and, as we have seen, Israel Cockeram had a daughter of that name. The conjunction of these unusual Christian names points to the marriage of James Toppe with Israel, the widow of William Cockeram. There is one more entry in the Tiverton warden’s accounts of a fine levied on this pair, and in this case James Toppe is first mentioned by name.

“Of James Tappe the xiv of March [1629] for himself and wife 8s.”

Toppe’s uncompromising hostility to the Anglican Church is shown in his letter to the English and Dutch Mennonite Church at Amsterdam, written about the year 1631. The fines to which he and his wife had been subjected had not convinced them of the lawfulness of listening to those whom they thought of as “false prophets.” But the English Anabaptists at Amster-

dam, influenced by the last teachings of their beloved leader, John Smith,<sup>9</sup> had taken up a more tolerant position on this matter; they were not prepared to withdraw from a brother or "deliver him to Satan" merely because he heard with edification the preaching of some of the Anglican clergy, even though he had been advised not to listen to them. The Tiverton Anabaptists were face to face with a pressing and practical difficulty on this point. Toppe had written to his English fellow-believers in Holland on the matter about the beginning of 1630, and had received a reply dated September 13, 1630, with a letter touching on the same question, from the Dutch section of the Amsterdam Mennonite Church. The arguments of the refugees in Holland left Toppe unconvinced. He held to the absolute position laid down by Thomas Helwys that those who went "to hear a false prophet," or endeavoured by compromise or flight "to avoid persecution," and were unrepentant of these acts ought to be excommunicated. The whole of the letter in reply to the brethren in Holland is worth careful study. It was "written from Tiverton," and signed by "James Toppe and Israel his wife," addressed to Hans de Ries, the Mennonite elder, and on arrival was translated from the English tongue June 5, 1631, by Swithune Gryndall. At the time it was penned Toppe declares they were "suffering persecution," and this continued to be the lot of the English Anabaptists for some years.

Toppe was a schoolmaster, and his opinions did not escape the eagle eye of Laud, who was as keen on securing uniformity of belief amongst those of the teaching profession as among the clergy. James Toppe was dragged up before the Court of High Commission for Ecclesiastical Causes, and imprisoned

---

<sup>9</sup> See "John Smith the Se-baptist, &c.," p. 259 *et seq.*

in Newgate. Laud could not break his spirit. He suffered a "long and tedious imprisonment." His frequent petitions for release were disregarded. At length, on August 7, 1639, he offered bail, and seems to have been set at liberty, for on the following January 30 the Court made an order for his attachment, unless he appeared by the last day of term.<sup>10</sup> His case probably ended with the abolition of the Court of High Commission a few months later.

We have an interval here in Toppe's life which needs further research to fill up. There is, however, an important manuscript<sup>11</sup> from his hand in the British Museum Library, containing a reply to a work of "Mr. Mark Leonard Busher," who controverted the millenarian opinions which Toppe had by this time adopted. Toppe's manuscript was evidently designed for the press, but does not appear to have been printed. We gather from it that Toppe, at the instance of a friend, wrote down his opinion about Christ's monarchical and personal reign on earth. The subject was much to the front in those days. Those who took the New Testament in a severely literal sense had ample warrant for their belief that Christ would return to reign in person on earth. The opinions of Toppe came to the hands of Busher, as also did a work by John Archer on "The Personal Reign of Christ upon earth."<sup>12</sup> The views expressed by these two writers were not at all to Busher's mind. He thought that Christ was King over His Church, which was His heavenly kingdom, and did not think He would reign in person over the kingdoms of the world. Accordingly Busher issued a little book refuting the

---

<sup>10</sup> State Papers Domestic, Charles I., Vol. 427, No. 29, and Vol. 434, fol. 69b.

<sup>11</sup> Sloane MSS. No. 63, ff. 36-57. This is probably the MS. referred to by Mr. Champlin Burrage in his "Early English Dissenters," I, p. 279. The Calendar of Sloane MSS. was printed in 1904.

<sup>12</sup> London, 1642. A sixth edition appeared in 1661. A copy of the first edition is in the Vestry Library of Tiverton Parish Church. It may be the very copy used by Toppe.

opinions of Toppe and Archer. At the foot of the title page he put:

“Printed with priviledge of the heavenly King  
Christ Jesus the Messiah and onely son of the  
most high God.

Matt. 28 19. Gen. 14. 18, 20.

Anno Domini

Syons style 1663, Romes Style 1647”<sup>13</sup>

It was this publication which stirred up Toppe to reply, and we have his answer in the manuscript now under notice. He heads it:

“CHRISTS MONARCHI-  
call and personall Reigne uppon Earth over all  
the Kingdoms of this world Rev 11. 15. 17. Dan.  
7. 14 27”

He subsequently inserted a sub-title as follows:

“Or an Epistell to his loving frind Mr. Busher.  
In w<sup>ch</sup> is / also shewed the tyme when this king-  
dom shall begin and where it shalbe.”

and still later he spatchcocked “Mark Leonard” between the “Mr” and the surname of his opponent. Several pertinent texts were also written out in full to stand on the title-page. “The Epistle to the Reader” describes the origin and scope of the work, and may be transcribed:

“Friendly Reader

I did heretofore uppo[n] the desire of a frind  
write some fewe lynes to proue Christs Monarchi-  
call reigne over all the Kingdomes of this world,  
And the same comeing into the hands of one Mr.  
Busher dwellinge then in Delph in Holland, he

---

<sup>13</sup> Sloane MS. 63, fol. 56b.

took uppō him to answer & to refute (as he saith) that judgment and caused my writing to be printed wth his ans[wer] to it. As also to a pte of Mr. Archers Book formerly written concerning the same subiect calling that judgment a Jewish opinion As if therefore not becominge Christians to hold or belieue & onely because it is a Tenant of y<sup>e</sup> Jewes

To wch his ans: I nowe make this replie prouinge therein the trueth of that opinion (viz. that Christe shall reigne over all y<sup>e</sup> kingedoms of this world vnder the whole heauens duringe the tyme of 1,000 yeares & more, to beginne after his second and nexte coming []) confuteinge all his obiections to y<sup>e</sup> contrary. Committinge the same vnto thie vnp[ar]tiall consideracon and remayne Thyne allwayes in y<sup>e</sup> Lord.

Ja: Toppe."

It is evident that the recovery of a copy of Busher's book would also give us Toppe's first "fewe lynes" on the subject. Toppe's reply to Busher shows that the latter held the ancient Anabaptist opinion that Jesus was subordinate to the Most High God, was endowed with a celestial body, and consequently took no flesh of the Virgin Mary. Toppe is quite as much concerned to set Busher right on this point as to convince him of the coming millennial reign of Christ on earth. He devotes many pages of this manuscript to the matter, and stoutly maintained the Athanasian doctrine. He cannot help returning to the subject in the closing paragraphs of his epistle, so important did it seem to him to be. The following extract will serve to show his attitude with regard to Busher's opinions on this point:

"But it appeareth that you hold that Jesus Christe is not true god nor true man, butt

that he is onely a meere creature a nothing as will followe from yo<sup>r</sup> distinction of him, in y<sup>t</sup> you say that he has & allwayes have had a heavenly humane body even from eternity, w<sup>ch</sup> if it were true it will followe that there is a heavenly-earthly god & god muste be earthly allso as well as heavenly w<sup>ch</sup> is most contradictorie even as a man should say a livinge-dead man neither was there ever any such a manhood created and therefore it must followe that he is nothings, for he is neither god nor mā nor any thinge else."<sup>14</sup>

From his study of the books of Daniel and Revelation Toppe came to the conclusion that the Jews would shortly return to Judæa and build the Temple anew, and again be driven out, and the Temple again ruined. Then, after the Jews had once more returned to their land, the Turk would come upon them so furiously that "they shall see noe way of escapinge his hands," at this juncture, declared Toppe,<sup>15</sup> "Christe shall descend from heauen uppō the Mount of Olives . . . & rescue them," and so the thousand years of Christ's reign would be ushered in.

#### Date of the document.

It is difficult to determine the date of this manuscript. In one place it refers to Busher's calculations in these terms:

"And further you say that y<sup>e</sup> 1000 yeares w<sup>ch</sup> John speaks of, reu. 20, are nowe allreadie allmoste expired and that they beganne in y<sup>e</sup> yeare 666 and shall end 1666 w<sup>ch</sup> will be about 6 yeares hence accordinge to the true style as you say."<sup>16</sup>

---

<sup>14</sup> MS. Sloane 63, fol. 38b.

<sup>15</sup> Toppe, MS. Sloane 63, fo. 55.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., fol. 46b.

The natural inference would be that 1660 was the date of writing, but we have to note that Busher had constructed a chronology of his own, which he no doubt regarded as the "true style"—"Syon's style." Moreover in a letter of 1642 he had described himself as "an old weak man far into 71 years."<sup>17</sup> So that 1660 is too late. In another place Busher declared his belief that "Christ shall reigne, butt not psonally aboute 337 yeares . . . and that his reigninge shalbegin about 16 yeares hence."<sup>18</sup> There seems to be some confusion in his statement. It is difficult to run a double chronology. We may adopt Toppe's comment: "here I thinke there will be some contradiction but I leaue it."<sup>19</sup> There is one other indication of date, and that is a reference to the death of the Rev. John Archer.

"Thus I haue answered yo<sup>r</sup> booke soe much of it as doth concerne myself leaueing the reste because it is the iudgm<sup>t</sup> of another man; and seeinge allsoe he is deade (as I haue heard) I will not meddle to answer any thinge in his behalfe but lett it likewise reste as he is at reste."<sup>20</sup>

When did Archer die? Benjamin Brook says probably soon after 1640,<sup>21</sup> but he was busy publishing sermons in 1645. Perhaps the year 1648 will be about right for the date of this manuscript.

We can fix the date of the death of James Toppe exactly, so far as the year goes, from his will, which was proved in the archdeaconry court of Exeter, July 3, 1661. The document is broken away at the top right-hand corner. I fill in the missing parts by conjecture.

17 Baptist Historical Society. Paper by Dr. Whitley, Vol. 1, p. 107.

18 MS., fol. 50b.

19 Toppe MS., fol. 51.

20 Ibid., fol. 56b.

21 Brooks' *Puritans*, II., 455, art. on Henry [should be John] Archer.

“ In the name of God Amen. The third day of [June] one thousand sixe hundred sixtie & one [I James Toppe of Tiverton] in the County of Devon being s[ick in body but of] a sound mynde & pfect memory praise [the Lord]. And callinge to mynde the certainty of dea[th and the nearness] thereof doe therefore make and ordaine th[is my last will and] Testament in manner & forme followinge renouneing & makinge voyde all other & former wills by me made. ffirst I give & bequeath my soule to Almighty God my maker hoping & steadfastly beleavinge that in & through the meritts death & passion of his deare & only sonne Jesus Christe my savior to be made ptaker of his heavenly kingdome. And as for my body I comitt it unto the earth from where it was taken to be buried in a comelie & devout manner as it shall seeme fitt to my Executrix hereafter named.

Itm. I give unto my daughter Mary Hawkey the sume of five poundes of lawfull mony of England to be paid unto her wthin one moneth next after my decease.

Itm, all the rest & residue of my Goods & Chattells, creditts debts, household stuffe & ymplements of householde & all other my substance whatsoever (my debts & legacye being paid & funerall expenses discharged) I give & bequeath unto my daughter Abigaile Saunders whome I make & ordaine to be whole & sole executrix of this my laste will & Testament. In witnes whereof I have hereunto sett my hand & seale the day & yere first above written

JAMES TOPPE ”

The signature is in a very shaky hand, as though the writer were extremely weak. The attestation gives the spelling “Tapp.”



“Sealed signed & declared to be the last will & Testam<sup>t</sup> of the said James Tapp in the psence of  
Jo: Edge  
John Hill”

The will is endorsed “James Tappe nuper Tiverton,” and is calendared under that name, but the Inventory filed with the will gives the correct form “Toppe” & the profession of the testator which is lost in the will itself.

“An Inventory of the Goods of James Toppe late of Tyverton in the County of Devon Schoolemaster—deceased taken & prized the second day of July Anno dni 1661 by Henry Battyn & Robert Sharpe as followith—

|  | li    | s  | d   |
|--|-------|----|-----|
| In primis his wearing Apparrell            | 2     | 10 | 0   |
| Item money by him & in his purse           | 15    | 00 | 00  |
| Item his bedding                           | 02    | 05 | 00  |
| Item his Linnen                            | 01    | 03 | 10  |
| Item one old Trunck & a deske              | 00    | 05 | 00  |
| Item his Bookes                            | 02    | 00 | 00  |
| Item small things as drincking<br>cups &c. | 00    | 01 | 00  |
|  | <hr/> |    |     |
| Sume                                       | 23    | 04 | 10” |

It would be of interest to know what school Toppe had charge of. Did he hold an usher's post in the famous Blundell School during the Commonwealth time? Or was he master of Chilcot's “English school?” Chilcot's will, executed in 1609, laid it down that “no married man . . . shall at any time be schoolmaster in the saide schoole,” but this clause is known to have often been disregarded. Another provision was that the master was to be appointed “with the allowance of the Bishoppe of the Diocesse

for the time being." This clause would cause no difficulty when there were no bishops. Chilcot's school escaped the fires of 1612 and 1731, which swept away a great part of old Tiverton, and the building still stands. The master had £20 a year and a house. Some local historian by further research may be able to determine whether James Toppe held office in one or other of these schools or carried on a private school of his own. The latter is more likely in my opinion.

The epistle of Toppe to Busher is carefully written in a small, neat hand. It discloses an intimate knowledge of the Scriptures and an independence of the authorised version in some of its renderings. Though strongly opposed to what appeared to him to be the "false doctrine" of Mark Leonard Busher, he conducted the controversy with a kindly tone, ending his letter in these terms: "And thus I cease further to write at present remaying yo<sup>r</sup> Lovinge frind Ja: Toppe."

There remain two other names in the list of Tiverton Anabaptists:—John Gibbons and John Skibbon. Of these two there is little to be said. There was a Robert Gibbins<sup>22</sup>, of Tiverton, who died in 1629, probably of the same family. With regard to the name Skibbon, I think it must be a misreading or an erroneous entry for Skibbowe. I cannot trace any family named Skibbon in Tiverton, but there was a family of Skibbow or Skibbowe well represented in the town. In the Archdeaconry Court at Exeter are the wills of:

|                 |      |
|-----------------|------|
| John Skibbowe   | 1621 |
| Robert Skibbowe | 1630 |
| Lewis Skibbowe  | 1647 |
| Anne Skibbowe   | 1648 |
| John Skibbowe   | 1665 |

---

<sup>22</sup> "Recd. of Robert Gibbens, for the widowe Burrowes seate, iii.s. x.d." *Tiverton Warden's Accounts*, 1627.

The will of the last named is dated November 28, 1665. He describes himself as a "fullere," mentions his wife Elizabeth, his brother Lewes, to whom he left his "Tanie Sute"; his cousin John Stone, who was to have his "boots and spures," and his son Francis, then under age. It is possible this is the man fined for Anabaptism in 1628. He signs his will John Skibbow; it was proved January 8, 1665-6, and the value of the estate was sworn at £31 10s. 10d.

The Tiverton Warden's accounts show a revenue each year from the sale of seats in the Parish Church. In 1619-20 "Richard Skybbowes" seat was sold for £1 15s. 6d., and "Phillip Tockers" for £1 10s. 6d. This is worth noting, though it may mean no more than a change on the death or removal of the previous holder. In 1630 there is the entry:

"Rec<sup>d</sup> of Lewes Skibbowe for the widowe Styles seate for his daughter Elizabeth Skibbowe ij<sup>li</sup> xiii<sup>s</sup>.vj.<sup>d</sup>"

which shows that some of the family adhered to the Church of England.

These details about this little company of early Anabaptists of Devon may seem to be trivial and unimportant to many minds, but they enable us to picture these earnest men and women of the past more vividly than was possible before. We see them busy with their farming, their trading, their teaching, their weaving and fulling of cloth, their preaching, their Bible reading, their eager pursuit of religious controversy, perhaps their protest against the obligation to furnish arms and attend musters. We realise afresh their fidelity to conviction and their firmness even under fines and imprisonment. They were true to the light as they saw it.

## POSTSCRIPT.

Since this article was written I have consulted a copy of the scarce tract "The Leaper censed" (sic) printed in 1657, "being a narrative of Richard Bellamie of Tiverton his falling off to Anabaptism and of his returning to the Truth" in the hope that it would make some mention of Toppe. It gives abundant references to "William Facy their present Pastor" but is silent as to Toppe. Bellamy joined the Tiverton Baptist Society and was a member for two years but becoming satisfied about "Infant baptism," he says "I went to hear the publick Ministry, but this coming to the ears of the Anabaptists, there came three of their Society the next day to me to have an account concerning this thing; I told them if they please[d] to come at a time appointed I would give them the reasons of my withdrawing from them and accordingly they came, the preachers & the principallest among them, where I gave them an account of my withdrawing from them" (p. 11, The Leper Cleansed). Toppe may have been one of their preachers.

This tract throws a flood of light upon the practice and principles of the Tiverton Baptist Church. It reveals the fact that its members objected to the magistrates' interference with the Quakers. It only runs to thirty-one pages and might very well be reprinted by the Baptist Historical Society, together with the pertinent parts of the reply to it, published by Cheare of Plymouth and Steed of Dartmouth.

WALTER H. BURGESS.

Plymouth, June 23, 1913.

# Was John Canne a Baptist?

## A STUDY OF CONTEMPORARY EVIDENCE.

### A.

IT was my unexpected good fortune several months ago to come across five holograph documents by John Canne. Four of these were letters and the fifth was closely related to the other four. Of very few of the early Separatists is such a collection of original letters still extant, and on the whole they give us a most interesting view of the man and of the opinions by which he was moved; as well as preserve for us a few apparently new facts concerning himself and his family. Indeed, this discovery has re-aroused my interest in Canne and stimulated a further investigation into his case than I had formerly contemplated.

We may commence our study by examining the early portion of the so-called "Records of a Church of Christ meeting in Broadmead, Bristol, 1640-1687," London, 1847, as edited for the Hanserd Knollys Society by Edward Bean Underhill. Hitherto this work seems to have been generally regarded, as Dr. Underhill incorrectly<sup>1</sup> describes it on the title-page, namely, as a volume of the Records of that church. To be sure, he mentions in his "Introductory Notice" the following significant facts, which point in an entirely different direction, yet apparently without adequately recognising the full import of what he there says:

---

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Underhill, however, in describing the book thus, merely makes use of the title given to the manuscript by Mr. Terrill.

“FOR the singularly interesting and unique picture of the formation, growth, and persecutions of the church of Christ, now, and for nearly two centuries past, meeting in Broadmead, Bristol, we are indebted to one of its ruling elders, Mr. Edward Terrill. . . .”<sup>2</sup>

“But Mr. Terrill’s deep interest in the welfare of the church, and the prosperity of Christ’s kingdom, also appears in the preparation of the narrative of its varied history during the times of the Commonwealth and the Restoration, and now, for the first time, printed.<sup>3</sup> From the incidental reference on page 47, it would appear that he commenced the record about the year 1672. This he continued from time to time, carefully collecting and arranging his materials, till in 1678 his handwriting disappears from the manuscript. It was doubtless at his suggestion that the brethren Bodenham and Davis, were, in 1675, desired every Monday to collect and record the ‘affronts and abuses’ of the preceding week; which record, it is probable, is the ‘Waste Book’ referred to by the unknown continuator of Mr. Terrill’s narrative, who takes up the history on page 420, and which was afterwards continued from the same ‘Waste Book’ by Mr. Bernard Fosket, from page 426 to the end, with the exception of a few pages at the close. It must be matter for regret that this original document is lost, since it contained a fuller account of the persecutions which, even in its abridged form, is of deep and thrilling interest. From several slight indications we deem it most likely that much of it was written by Mr. Terrill.”<sup>4</sup>

“. . . There are many references in the margin of the original [manuscript] to the contents of the

---

2 P. xci.

3 A more exact edition of this work was published by Haycroft in 1865 as Vol. xiv. of the Bunyan Library.

4 P. xciv.

text, in the handwriting of the late Dr. [John] Ryland, an example of which may be seen in the lithographed passage [inserted between pages 18 and 19] relating to Mr. John Canne; . . .”<sup>5</sup>

In other words, we are not dealing here directly with the “Records” of this church, but with a kind of history of the church compiled from memoranda or minutes. Furthermore, it appears from internal evidence noted by Dr. Underhill that the work was not commenced by Mr. Terrill until 1672, thirty-two years after the recorded visit of John Canne to Bristol in 1640. Accordingly, we at least have before us in this narrative not only statements of solid fact derived from minutes noted at the time when any particular event occurred, but also the interpretation of such statements of fact or memoranda by Mr. Terrill in 1672, etc. Before that date, we are concerned, therefore, with what might truly be termed a form of historical compilation.

One’s suspicions on this point are quickly aroused in examining the description of John Canne there presented, since we have the best of evidence for believing that in 1640 at least he was still a Brownist or Separatist and Pastor of the Ancient [Separatist] Church in Amsterdam. But when we come to these so-called “Records” we are amazed to find him calmly represented in that year as “a Baptized man”, or Baptist. Now are the “Records” correct in this description? It would appear not, and if we look further into Mr. Terrill’s narrative, we shall notice a good many points, and especially those relating to the matter of baptism, in dealing with which his historical accuracy must be called in question. In fact, we shall soon see that some of the very same defects are there present of which the Higher Critics complain in their investigation of the

early books of the Bible, and especially of the Hexateuch, and of Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles.

For specific evidence as to the character of the "Records" we shall need to turn to Dr. Underhill's volume. Here we first note that before pages 10-11 the Broadmead congregation was not separatist, but only Puritan, in spirit. On page 10 one member, Mrs. Kelly, is mentioned as "very famous for piety and reformation", who "would not observe their invented times and feasts, called holy days" in the Church of England, and who "would keep open her shop on the time they called Christmas day, and sit sewing in her shop, as a witness for God in the midst of the city, in the face of the sun, and in the sight of all men; even in those very days of darkness, when, as it were, all sorts of people had a reverence of that particular day above all others." This Mrs. Kelly, apparently at a somewhat later date under her new name of Mrs. Hazzard, "was the first woman in this city of Bristol that practised that truth of the Lord, which was then hated and odious, namely, separation."

And yet on pages 11-15 this company of people of whom Mrs. Kelly or Mrs. Hazzard was one, are again represented as Puritans who met together for prayer, etc., and attended a parish church! Also on pages 15-18 we find the following passage:

"Then it pleased the Lord to stir up some few of the professors of this city [Bristol], to begin to lead the way out of Babylon—the corrupt worship, and to separate from them, and not so much as come near any of their superstitions—viz. five persons began to go further, and scrupled to hear common prayer; . . . giving up themselves to him to walk before him all the days of their lives in his ways, and joining together, in the fear of the Lord, to separate from the worship of the times.



“ANNO 1640.

“. . . So that in the year . . . one thousand six hundred and forty, those five persons . . . met together, and came to a holy resolution to separate from the worship of the world and times they lived in, and that they would go no more to it. And with godly purpose of heart [they] joined themselves together in the Lord; only thus covenanting, That they would, in the strength and assistance of the Lord, come forth of the world, and worship the Lord more purely, persevering therein to their end.”

Mr. Terrill evidently interpreted this declaration as truly separatist in tone, but the very next paragraph<sup>6</sup> shows that he was manifestly mistaken. Those who thus covenanted were only Puritans:

“Thus they having engaged themselves to the Lord, and one to the other, to walk before him according to his word, they would go to hear common prayer no more; *but after the common prayer was over in the morning, when the psalm was singing, they would go in to hear Mr. [Matthew] Hazzard preach.*<sup>7</sup> Thus they did on the mornings of the Lord’s day, but in the afternoons they met by themselves, and so built up one another. . . .”

Then follows the interesting description of John Canne’s visit to Bristol and its neighbourhood, which we will reserve for use in a later portion of this paper.

Passing over several pages of the “Records” we now come across the following paragraph which seems to indicate that before 1643 those who had covenanted had really advanced to a genuinely separatist position, but even of this it is difficult to be perfectly certain.

---

6 P. 18.

7 The italics are mine. Mr. Hazard was minister of the parishes of St. Ewens, Bristol, and of St. Mary, Redcliff (J. R. Boyle: *Memoirs of Master John Shawe*, Hull, 1882, p. 202).

"These few being thus joined, confirmed, and separated, they began very much to increase; . . . But divers that were grave, sincere, and godly people, that had gone all along with them step by step until this, would not enter into church fellowship at that time, standing off for many years. Now, notwithstanding some good people had not light in that duty, so to separate from the Church of England, as they called it, and did not come in, . . ." <sup>8</sup>

On page 30, three pages later, a Mr. [Walter] Cradock from Wales is mentioned as administering the Lord's supper to the congregation, and the statement occurs that "although they had separated about two years from the world, yet were [they] not in a settled way with a pastor over them". Mr. Cradock of course was not an Anabaptist.<sup>9</sup> In 1643, after the fall of Bristol, the members of the church journeyed to London, and were now composed partly of Welsh fugitives, as well as of those from Bristol. We are told that in London they "did commonly meet at Great Allhallows for the most part", and then comes the unexpected remark: "only those professors that were baptized before they went up, they did sit down with Mr. Kiffin and his church in London, being likewise baptized."

This last statement seems to be fictitious. It evidently was not contained in any minutes, and did not even form a part of Terrill's "Records" as he originally wrote them. Compare Haycroft's edition of the "Records" in the Bunyan Library (p. 26).

After September 10, 1645, the most of the members returned to Bristol, and on page 32 the narrative proceeds: "Thus having taken the names of such that again gave up themselves to the duties and privileges of such

---

<sup>8</sup> P. 27.

<sup>9</sup> See p. 31, note 5.

that were called to be saints, they entered into a covenant that was very briefly written in a paper, and read unto them, to this effect—‘That they would, in the strength of Christ, keep close to the holy scriptures, the word of God; and [to] the plain truths and ordinances of the gospel, of church fellowship, breaking bread, and prayers [baptism, it will be noticed, is not mentioned]; and to [be] subject to one another, according to the discipline and admonition [commanded] by the rules of Christ, in the New Testament, or the scriptures.’

“And so having now by a new embodying of themselves again, and, as it were, renewing their covenant with God, and [with] one another, they went on in the ways of the Lord, meeting usually every Lord’s day, in the afternoons in Lewin’s Mead, at a brewer’s house, . . . and [on] Lord’s days, in the mornings, they usually heard Mr. [Dr. Nathanael] Ingello, at the parish or public meeting house, called All Saints, . . .”  
 “Having no pastor, they chose Mr. Ingello afore-said, otherwise called Doctor Angello, to be their teacher, and sat under his ministry [? in the parish church]<sup>10</sup> about four or five years. They also desired him to break bread unto them, which accordingly he did during the said time; and so the church walked together and increased.”<sup>11</sup>

“Thus the Lord carried on his work in this church, in Mr. Ingello’s time of being with them.

“But at last, divers of the members of the congregation began to be offended with Mr. Ingello’s conversation; as first, with his flaunting apparel, for he, being a thin, spare, slender person, did go very neat, in a costly trim, and in some time began to exceed in some garments not becoming the gospel; much less

---

<sup>10</sup> It will readily be seen that it is not easy to trace the exact development of the Broadmead church from the very hazy account given by Mr. Terrill.

<sup>11</sup> Pp. 34-5.

a minister of Christ; together with his being given so much to music, not only at his own house, but at houses of entertainment out of town; sometimes with some of his relations, and [sometimes with the] gentry of the city of his acquaintance; he would be at his music. Of which, when some of the members heard, they were much troubled and offended; and dealing with him for it by way of admonition and entreaty, they could not work upon him to leave his music, nor his so frequent nor public use thereof. For he told them,—take away his music, take away his life;<sup>12</sup> which offended and stumbled them more, that is, the lively and most serious, watchful members in those times; [so] that their affections began to alienate from him, and to hearken after another."<sup>13</sup>

From this citation it is evident that as yet the Broadmead Church had not become Anabaptist, nor even thoroughly separatist, and from what is said on pages 38 and 39 it would almost appear as if this church, even in 1651, was a parish church in Bristol, for the new minister, Mr. Thomas Ewins, who, by the way, was invited to Bristol by the mayor, divers aldermen, "commissioners for the maintenance of ministers for the city" preached in "several of [the] other parishes . . . in the afternoons: at [St.] Thomas's . . . and frequently to [St.] Phillips's, . . . Thus he continued divers years, to the comfort, peace, and increase of the church.

"And in those halcyon days of prosperity, liberty, and peace, it pleased the Lord to break forth more

<sup>12</sup> In other words, Mr. Ingello was far from being an unmusical separatist or Anabaptist of the Commonwealth period. In certain quarters in the past Dr. Ingello has apparently been regarded as a Baptist, no doubt because he appears in the so-called Broadmead Records as the pastor of a church which until now has been supposed to have been, in his time, a Baptist church. Dr. Ingello, of course, never had any Baptist affiliations of any kind. A brief account of his life will be found in "The Diary and Correspondence of Dr. John Worthington, Master of Jesus College Cambridge", as edited by James Crossley, Esq., for the Chetham Society, Vol. I., 1847, p. 36, note 1.

<sup>13</sup> P. 36.

primitive light and purity in reformation of worship, to bring the church to a more exact keeping to the holy scripture; so that some of the members began to question what rule they had for sprinkling of children; and upon examination, finding no bottom for it, but men's inventions and tradition. . . ."<sup>14</sup>

Again under the dates 1652 — 1653 we are suddenly introduced to a somewhat different and more advanced situation as regards the baptismal question:

“ANNO 1652.

“. . . and, accordingly, the Lord awakened some of this church to consider [that] there was no ground for baptizing children, much less for sprinkling them; and, therefore, [that] they had not been rightly baptized, according to the scripture. Whereupon, one of the members, namely, Thomas Munday, being convinced in the year of our Lord, 1652, he desired leave of the congregation to go and join himself to the other<sup>15</sup> church in Bristol that were all baptized, having one Henry Hynam for their teacher. And when, after divers reasonings with the said brother Munday, they could not prevail with him to abide in his former understanding as to that point,<sup>16</sup> they gave him liberty to depart, and join himself to the other<sup>17</sup> church afore-said [*i.e.*, about June, 1653]. Thus, of several that were enlightened in the truth, some had strength to practise it.

“ANNO 1653.

“And the next year, 1653, another member, namely, Timothy Cattle, being convinced of the ordinance of baptism, that none ought to be partakers

---

<sup>14</sup> P. 39.

<sup>15</sup> This word “other” I believe may be Mr. Terrill's.

<sup>16</sup> In other words, the Broadmead congregation was not yet an Anabaptist church!

<sup>17</sup> See note 15.

thereof but such as profess faith in our Lord Jesus Christ: and when he had declared his desires of enjoying that ordinance of the Lord, as it was delivered to us, and the scripture grounds for it to the church, they agreed that if any were convinced of that ordinance, they might practise it: desiring that such persons so convinced, and practising that ordinance of baptism in that scriptural manner, would keep their places in the church, and not leave their communion notwithstanding. Agreeable to which agreement and desire, the church advised brother Cattle to be baptized in London,<sup>18</sup> he having some occasions to go there about his private occasions. In order thereunto, the church gave him a letter to one Mr. Henry Jessey, a gracious, holy, baptized minister, in London, desiring him to baptize their said member, Timothy Cattle, which, according to their desire, he did. After this, divers others of the church were baptized, according to scripture example, in a river.”<sup>19</sup>

Under the year 1654 the following further stage in the evolution of the Broadmead church is described:<sup>20</sup> “First, the pastor, or teacher, Mr. Ewins, and the ruling elder that then was, namely, brother Robert Purnell—who, before that apostacy [of some of the members to the Quakers], he [*sic*] was a deacon, but after was chosen an elder, and brother Moone chosen a deacon—I say, those two were pressed in their spirits to take up the ordinance of baptism, of which they were before enlightened; especially brother Purnell, for several years, had been convinced of his

---

<sup>18</sup> It is interesting to notice that the church would not entrust his baptism to the strict Anabaptist congregation in Bristol, nor to William Kiffin in London!

<sup>19</sup> Pp. 41-2. This paragraph indicates that before 1653 no rebaptized persons had been allowed to be members of the congregation,—an additional argument against the tradition that Canne preached Baptist doctrines to the church in 1640!

<sup>20</sup> P. 51. This passage shows that Mr. Ewins only became an Anabaptist after coming to Bristol. With his rebaptism in 1654 the Broadmead congregation probably began its history as an Anabaptist church.

duty therein, but omitted the practice thereof. Thus, they being now stirred up to their duty, to glorify God in their day, in owning his commands in the gospel, and [in] laying aside the traditions of man in worship, these two, namely Mr. Ewins and Mr. Purnell, went to London, and took up the ordinance of baptism. And they were accordingly baptized by brother Mr. Henry Jessey, after which they came down, and proceeded in the church and work of the Lord."

In this same year, 1654, one Dennis Hollister and "about eighteen or nineteen members more . . . rent away from the church" and became Quakers, leaving less than sixty persons in the congregation. On page 52 the narrative is thus continued:

"Thus there seemed to be hinted why the great breach [rent] was made, because . . . they had not kept close to the holy scriptures for the rule of worship, and to . . . the example or path of the primitive saints, recorded in holy writ; and [they] blamed themselves [in that] they had not rejected all notions of men whatsoever for matters of worship, . . .

". . . Therefore the ordinance of baptism must be always so administered or done, as at first it was done by the apostles, both as to the subjects to whom they did it, which was to believers, that is, [to] them that had given them a profession of their faith; and the manner how they did it, which was by dipping them in rivers, not sprinkling them."

Thus at last we may consider that we have traced the gradual evolution of the Broadmead congregation from Puritanism in the Church of England to the almost fully developed Anabaptist position. The process was a slow one, requiring a period of fourteen years after the traditional visit of the Baptist John Canne in 1640 for the advance from the teaching of separatism to the partial adoption of Anabaptist im-

mersion. At the same time we have made it evident that Mr. Terrill's narrative contains unconscious repetitions, contradictions, etc., which make it untrustworthy either as history or as "Records". A comparison of Mr. Haycroft's edition of the "Records" with that of Dr. Underhill's has confirmed my view that Mr. Terrill is specially untrustworthy in his treatment of the Broadmead Church as a Baptist congregation from Canne's traditional visit of 1640, and also in styling him a Baptist at that time. Thus we have freed Canne from the embarrassment of holding views in 1640 in which he certainly did not then believe, and enable him to appear before us as a more truly historical character.

#### B.

The way has now been largely prepared for an independent study of John Canne's life. First, however, we must mention the lives of Canne written respectively by the Rev. Charles Stovel for the Hanserd Knollys Society, and by Mr. W. E. A. Axon for the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Mr. Stovel's account comprises a part of Section I of the Introductory Notice to his edition of Canne's *Necessity of Separation from the Church of England*, published at London in 1849. Herein a good many points of interest have been brought together, but unfortunately in the interpretation of some of them several rather disastrous mistakes have been made. Mr. Axon's account is a truly able and trustworthy piece of work, thanks partly, no doubt, to Mr. Stovel's pioneer studies. He makes few mistakes, but at times he seems to avoid the discussion of difficult points, and now even his view appears to need correction as well as amplification.

I am inclined to agree with Mr. Stovel that Canne was probably born about 1590, or perhaps somewhat earlier. At any rate, he speaks of himself in 1657



as already an old man. We do not yet know the place of his birth, nor the names of his parents. We know nothing of their position in life, and nothing of his childhood, youth, or education. It seems to me probable that he was not an University graduate, although even in this respect his case is not perfectly clear. Any connection of his, other than an extremely remote one, with the family of Sir Thomas Canne of Bristol appears to me exceedingly improbable.

We first hear of Canne in London, in or about 1630, before his departure for Holland. We next have evidence that he was in Amsterdam in 1633, and apparently in 1632.<sup>21</sup> It is also practically certain that the final reunion of the two Brownist congregations there by 1645, reported by Robert Baillie,<sup>22</sup> was due to his efforts and presence. His edition of the Bible published in 1647 makes it probable that up to that time he had made his home in Amsterdam. In October, 1647, as we know from one of his letters, he was in London once more, and the fact that he had several tracts published at London in 1649,<sup>23</sup> reinforced by other evidence which we possess, points to his being in that city during that year. In 1650 we find him at Hull "as chaplain to the governor, Colonel Robert Overton, whose curious book, 'Man's Mortalitie,' he had printed at Amsterdam in<sup>24</sup> 1644." From 1650 until 1656 he appears to me to have resided at Hull, though he evidently was not there without interruption. His sojourn in that city, in fact, seems to have been very stormy, but he was apparently not driven out of Hull until 1656. Here his chief opponent was the Puritan preacher, John Shawe, who must have been indirectly concerned, if not directly, in Canne's final overthrow there. From certain words used by Canne

<sup>21</sup> *Early English Dissenters*, vol. i., pp. 178-79, and C. Stovel's edition of John Canne's *A Necessity of Separation*, (Hanserd Knollys Society), p. xx.

<sup>22</sup> See "A Dissvasive", London, 1645, p. 77.

<sup>23</sup> See the account of Canne in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, first ed., vol. viii., p. 412.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*

after his banishment from Hull, one is made to wonder if that city might not have been his birthplace and early home. On April 1, 1658, we find him preaching to the Fifth Monarchy congregation in Swan Alley, in Coleman Street, London, and in August, 1659, he is reported as residing in a house in London "without Bishopsgate".<sup>25</sup> He seems to have remained in England until 1661,<sup>26</sup> and probably until early in 1664, when, in order to escape the rigor of the new law promulgated in that year against Nonconformists, he very likely returned to Amsterdam. He certainly revisited Holland and died there.<sup>27</sup> The place of his death is reported to have been Amsterdam, and the year 1667,<sup>28</sup>—a report which cannot be far from the truth.

Into this rough framework of John Canne's life it is now my purpose to insert the recently-discovered documents written by him, as well as two or three pen pictures of him at different times in his career. From these, it is hoped, we may obtain a vivid, concrete, and accurate idea of the man. Canne's visit to Bristol I am now inclined to date in 1648. From the account of it given by Mr. Terrill I have removed all reference to the Anabaptists as unhistorical.

We begin with the year 1640 when Canne was apparently in Amsterdam.

## I.

## Canne's First Letter to William Sykes.

To his louing

Freind M<sup>r</sup> williamSykes Marchant<sup>29</sup>

Endeared Freind, &amp; beloued in christ Iesus.

It hath been and stil is, a great sadnesse of spirit

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 413.

<sup>26</sup> See my article on "The Fifth Monarchy Insurrections" (*English Historical Review*, vol. xxv., p. 745).

<sup>27</sup> *Early English Dissenters*, vol. ii., p. 307.

<sup>28</sup> *Dictionary of National Biography*, first ed., vol. viii., p. 413.

<sup>29</sup> Add. MS. 4275, fol. 143-44, in the British Museum. This heading is from the verso of fol. 144.

vnto me, that I haue not receiued any letter from you since I came home. now the truth is but that I strue to set my eyes bejond the creature. otherwise my greife would be much greater then it is. I haue much desired a long time, to vnderstand how the kingdome of our God and Sauour is aduanced in the parts w[h]ere you are and what a blessing of increase the Lord giues to the endeauours of his seruants there. I make no question but you are one still of the Lords warriours, & fight the hard fight of faith against the euils and errours of the time. I am a wittnes ... thus farr for you, that you haue put your hand to the plow and are greatlie ingaged in the cause of Christ. I beseech you therfore for the same Christ his sake: take not back, but hold fast your own, yeeld not a whit but goe forward as a valient man in the seruice and worke of your God. you know whome you serue: it is one (& marke it) that hath no intent to be serued by any man for nought: he hath no worke to doe, but he hath his reward, & that a gracious and liberal reward for it. you are now in a place where occasions will be daylie offered you to declare your loue & zeale towards the building vp of Sion. oh let the Lords house & his ordinances be still deare to your soule: doe Gods worke in his own way. and wherein you se others to differ from the truth therein doe you differ from them. Deare Freind I know the eyes of many there are greatlie vpon you. so that your walking is exemplarie & so tends either to a general good or harme. be carefull therefore to walke with an vpright & euen foot in the gospel: & in so dooing you shall haue much peace of conscience beside Christ for this thing will honour you in the day of his Father: I take the more boldnes to write this vnto you because there lies a charge vpon me from your selfe, to consider you in the lord, & to prouoke you to good workes. moreouer I I [*sic*] mind the times are perilous, &

the depths [?] of Satan verie great & manie. and in this regard, it stands us [?] vpon, that we goe still armed, that so beeing set vpon, we may be able (by the good hand of God assisting us/ both to stand fast and ouercome. I would haue written more largely to you: but I knew not of the goeing away of the ship til it was almost to [*sic*] late to begin to write I doe exceedingly long to heare from you. surelie it is the worke of Satan that hath interrupted the sweet & comfortable passages that was between us in writing: For I speake it in the word of truth, that I saw so much of God in your letters: as I was often occasiond [?] to blesse the Lord, to see so much of his grace and spirit in you: But I cannot in regard of time write more now to you. onelie I purpose (if God will) to take euery oppertunitie hereafter: for it grieues [me] in truth that I haue not sent to you as often as I should haue don.

About the reckonings and accounts betwixt is [us], I question not but we [?] shall bring them to a good period: For I doe desire to walke honestlie & to doe vnto others as I would be don unto you [*sic*]. & thus with my kind & louing remembrance to your selfe & wife I committ you both to the Lords gracious keeping & doe rest

your euer sincere Freind & brother  
Amsterdam may 20<sup>th</sup> in Christ Iesus.  
1640. Io. Canne.

## II.

### Canne's Promissory Note to William Sykes.

In Amsterdame 21.<sup>th</sup> Decemb. 1640<sup>80</sup>

These are to testifie that I Iohn Cann minister of the Gospel doe acknowledge that I haue by the order of m<sup>r</sup> William Sykes marchant in Rotterdame re-

---

30 *Ibid.*, fol. 145 recto. At the top of this paper some one has written in a contemporary hand the words, "John Canne the Separatist." There is no reference to Anabaptism here.

ceiued of m<sup>r</sup>. P. Brendan [?] the summe of ———  
 1559. *gulden*. And of m<sup>r</sup> witherel———— 500—  
*gulden*. As also a peece of Cloth at 57 *gulden*. —  
 10 *stivers*. Now touching this summe of 2106—*gulden*  
 & 10. *stivers* I doe confesse my selfe to be a deptor  
 to the aforsaid m<sup>r</sup> Sykes, & doe promise here vnder  
 my hand that by the helpe & assistance of Iesus Christ  
 I will in some reasonable & short time pay back the  
 sayd summe [?] of 2106.—10 to him or his assignes:  
 & for the truth of it, & the better performance of  
 the thing I haue set my hand to this writing in the  
 day & yeare aboue written.

John Canne.

### III.

#### Canne's Second Letter to William Sykes.

My deare christian Freind.<sup>31</sup>

The searcher of all hearts doth know, with what vp-  
 rightnes of spirit I loue you in the lord Iesus, & my  
 prayer to God daylie is that by his good hand of  
 prouidence, a way were once opened for me, that I  
 might more reallie shew, in what presious esteeme I  
 haue you. *sir* I haue heard of your late troubles. now  
 I must confesse that after some sadnesse of spirit, my  
 soule was abundentlie refreshed, to consider that the  
 lord hath as it were in especial manner fitted and  
 framed you to suffer for his name. the truth is, euerie  
 man hath not the gyft. & therefore our blessed God  
 is wise to proportion euerie ones condition & state  
 according as he qualifies his children for the same.  
 our time here is not long, and therefore while we haue  
 a little oppertunitie, lett us serue Iesus Christ in the  
 best manner we can, & further the lords worke what  
 we are able. I haue minded it as a great prouidency  
 that the Lord hath drawn out our hearts so affection-  
 atelie each to other & to make use of such poore

31 Add. MS. 4275, fol. 147-48, in the British Museum.

instruments as we are, for the setting foreward of his glorious kingdome. we need not to repent of our former worke & labour this way. For I dare call God to wittnes both in your behalfe & my owne. that his glorie hath been sought after both first and last. and indeed for my own part I speake it in the word of the truth, that I neuer saw more of G[od] in any thing in my life. For this I am certaine of, that the lord hath vsed us as instruments to bringe the [kno]wledge of his [?wa]ies & will, unto [the] ignorant [one or two illegible words] parts of th[e?] [one or two illegible words]. the which [three or four words torn off] joy to take [?n]otise of.

Touching reckonings and accounts betwixt us. I doe desire beyond my power to beare the burden of expences and other . . . and I doe beleue when you shall see how farr my engagements haue been this way you will say it hath been the loue of Christ which hath constrained[?] us both. But the thing which I most desire is your enlargment & deliuerance & that I might once more see you in the face and as for other things, I make no doubt but we shall easilie & soonn [*sic*] compose them. I pray if it be possible let me heare from you, and how things are in your parts, I verelie beleue the worke of the lord goes on a pace, & that the beasts kingdome in our land is nere his last & final destruction and therefore let us hold vp our heads & be comforted, the busnes is almost over and how soeuer our present streights & durances are somewhat sharpe and greeuious yet let this sweetlie refresh us, that it is a great worke which the lord is now a dooing, and therefore. no maruaile tho the storme seeme long & be general it is to bring in a long and general reformation, to the ioy of all saints. And thus beseeching God to beare you up, in all your sufferings, & to vse you still as a worthie instrument in his hand for the glorie of his name in

the propagation of his gospel and kingdome I conclude for the present committing you to the safe protection of our alsuffecient God: in whome I rest

Amsterdame Aug: 20. Your deare & most affectionate  
1643. new stile. freind & brother in the Gospel  
Io. Canne.<sup>32</sup>

## IV.

## Canne's Third Letter to William Sykes.

Sir<sup>33</sup>

I had no time to answeere your letter in holland by reason I was then vpon a iournie but hauing now a better oppertunitie I thinke it verie fitt that I write some lines vnto you: first of all I doe perceiue that you exspect much monie from me, now I doe professe in the word of truth that my outward condition was neuer lower then at the present: I have ten children, nine of which are in house with me, and as yet haue not any thing from any man to giue for the monie which I had of you, the lord who is the searcher of all hearts doth know, that it was laid out for a publick good, that the glorious light of Christs wayes and truth might be known vnto the people of this nation. and therefore I neuer had scarce any thing for what was published, but cheiflie endeauored the spreading of what was don to the world: and for this purpose made vse of sundrie freinds up and down the kingdome to giue forth what was sent vnto them not mercenarie or for profit, but that the glorious kingdome of Iesus Christ might be aduanced: so that besides what monies you have receiued, I neuer got penny by the work in my life. It is true I sent you a note vnder my hand, but you wel know it was of my own accord neuer by you desired, neither did I euer thinke that you would haue: [*sic*] made vse of it in such a way as I

<sup>32</sup> On the back of this letter Mr. Sykes appears to have written: "recd 1th October 1643 John Cann 20 Aug: 1643".

<sup>33</sup> Add. MS. 4275, fol. 149, recto and verso, in the British Museum.

perceiue you doe: many were the letters which I had from you where you made christ the debtor and not me, and this publick busnesse should be put upon Christ score and his account, so that it hath added much affliction and sadnesse to my soule, that I should now be the man upon whose score and account such things must come, wherein I had noe profit, but spent my time and labour about: Besides I cannot but be verie senceable of the great dishonour and scandal which I lie under to haue that which was don in a secret way to be so openlie diuulged, as your son to demand so much as if it had bin monie lent for my proper vse, which the lord knowes it was neuer in my thought. I speake nothing here of Ioseph Collier who had his chamber studie, pack seller diet and other things with me about two yeares: I know not what I shall further say, onelie I wish I were in a condition to returne all the monie layd out in the publick seruice of Christ vnto you: truelie were I able I would be loth to make any apologie, but doe it willinglie, as knowing the worke should not be in vain But for my part as things stand with me at present, I liue by faith waiting what prouidence the lord will bring for me. and thus beseeching you in the bowels of Christ to consider how the case doth stand betwixt us, and how full of greife my spirit is, that there should any vnkindness[e] fal in betwixt us especially about these worldlie things and about a worke wherein we may see such good successe and fruit to follow, I commit you to th[e] gracious protection of the allmightie God and shall euer be while I am

yours most effectio[n]atelie  
in what I am able to doe  
Iohn Canne.<sup>34</sup>

---

<sup>34</sup> This letter is undated by Canne, but Mr. Sykes has written on the verso in a very hasty hand the words: "Mr Can From London off the 12th [?] october 1647. Answered the 17th [?] october 1647."



I could name you 3. or 4 men  
 in this land that had, neere  
 200<sup>l</sup> of the bookes which were  
 printed for the common good  
 of which there was neuer any  
 returne of monie, but a  
 spreading of them into all the  
 parts of the land.

## V.

## Canne's Fourth Letter to William Sykes.

Deare *Sir*<sup>85</sup>

your Answere to my last letter I haue receiued, and how much some passages therein doe sadden my spirit the lord knowes. you tax me as if I were vnmindfull and vnthankfull of your former kindnesse: now for this, my wittnesse is in heauen, & the searcher of all hearts doth know, had I any abilitie, I would not be wanting to answere your desire but is a matter of wonderfull greife vnto me, that beeing at the present neuer in a lower condition, & in no capacitie in the world, to doe the thing, that you should iust now prosecute the busnesse as you doe. But to come to some other particulars: first for the smal bibles you mention, *Sir*, I pray take notice I was meerelie deceiued by such as went on in the thing with me, and it is wel known to many in Holland that I suffered great losse by the vnfaithfulnes of such as I trusted in the thing. & so was meerelie indeed gulled: Now for Iosua Collier I doe protest that he neuer did any thing for me about the printerie in his life he did neuer learn any thing that way, nor would, but altogether followed his own busnes. and so much I can proue to you by many honest people who were all the while in my house & are here in london. And therefore good *Sir* doe not thinke that I had euer a farthing from him, either by his labour or

---

<sup>85</sup> Add. MS. 4275, fol. 150 recto, in the British Museum.

any other way in any consideration to this day: he was at most 3. yeares with me. he had his diet, his chamber & studie to him selfe a pack seller for his commodities. his washing starching, & besides all this I pasd my word for him to m<sup>r</sup> Becham, & after he was gon paid 250: gulden which he promised to repay but neuer did: It is true he left in my hands some smal debts, but I neuer could get one promise. These things I neuer thought to haue spoken of, for I thought you would not have called the busnesse betwixt us in this manner to examination: you tel me that you are not willing that your son should fall upon me in an extreme way: I can say nothing to it so that Christ may not suffer I hope I shall submit to what sufferings he will put vpon me. But for your more christan & pious aduice that brethren should heare it, I like it maruealously wel, and am verie desireous to goe this way along with you: and shall produce in a meeke & humble way what I haue to say, & shall gladlie submitt to the determination of any godlie men, & will to the vttmost of my power satisfie you, in what shall appeare either in point of law or in point of conscience to be your due truelie it hath euer been my desire to pay my debts: I know nothing else at the present for this[:] about some freinds to examine the matter I shall leaue it to your own time, place and persons, onelie I desire here to handle the matter with your selfe and none else. And thus beseeching God to cast a fauourable countenance upon us both, & to helpe us in our present streight that the glorious name of Iesus may not be dishonoured by either of us, I committ to the lord & shalbe euermore

your sincere and most true

freind & brother. Iohn Canne.<sup>36</sup>

---

<sup>36</sup> Internal evidence, it will have been noticed, shows that this letter was written in London. Its date appears to be late in 1647.

## VI.

**Canne's Visit to Bristol.**

"Shortly after this [in 1648?], on a time called Easter, . . . the providence of God brought to this city [of Bristol] one Mr. Canne, . . . it was that Mr. Canne that made notes and references upon the bible. He was a man very eminent in his day for godliness, and for reformation in religion, having great understanding in the way of the Lord.

"When Mrs. Hazzard heard that he was come to town she went to the Dolphin Inn, and fetched him to her house, and entertained him all the time he stayed in the city; who helped them very much in the Lord, he being a man skilful in gospel order. Like unto Aquila, he taught them the way of the Lord more perfectly, and settled them in church order [according, of course, to the views of the Ainsworthian Separatists in Amsterdam], and showed them the difference betwixt the church of Christ and antichrist, and left with them a printed book treating of the same, and divers printed papers to that purpose. So that by this instrument, Mr. Canne, the Lord did confirm and settle them; showing them how they should join together, and take in members. And he exhorted them to wait upon God together, and to expect the presence of God with those gifts they had, and to depart from those ministers that did not come out of anti-christian worship [i.e., out of the Church of England]. And when he had stayed some time in the city he departed.

"And on a Lord's day following he preached at a place called Westerleigh, about seven miles from this city [Bristol] . . . where he had liberty to preach in the public place, called a church, in the morning, but in the afternoon could not have entrance. The obstruction was by a very godly great woman, that

dwelt in that place, who was somewhat severe in the profession of what she knew, . . .”<sup>37</sup>

“But to return to our narrative of the Lord’s carrying on the truth of separation. This godly, honourable woman, perceiving that Mr. Canne was . . . not in her way [of Puritanism], but a step beyond her light [i.e., a Separatist], caused the public place [the parish church] to be made fast, whereby they were prevented to come in. Then he drew forth, with abundance of people, into a green thereby, and sent for Mr. [Richard] Fowler, the [parish] minister that lived there, to speak with him, . . . who, accordingly, came to Mr. Canne, in the green, where they debated the business of reformation, and the duty of separation from the worship of anti-christ, cleaving close to the doctrine of our Lord Jesus and his instituted worship. . . . Mr. Canne answered, . . . though they could not get a public place or such conveniences, they should hire a barn to meet in, keeping the worship and commands of the Lord as they were delivered to us. Thus Mr. Canne continued near two hours in the green, asserting and proving the duty of a people to the Lord in such a day; . . .

“But the business of preaching in a barn could hardly be received. The thing of relative holiness, and tincture of consecrated places, was not off the people; . . .”<sup>38</sup>

“Then she [Mrs. Hazzard], with those few that had joined themselves together to worship the Lord more purely, as aforesaid, after Mr. Canne had thus instructed them, and showed them the order of God’s house, and the difference thereof from anti-christian worship; then they stepped further in separation, and

---

37 E. B. Underhill: *The Records of a Church of Christ*, London, 1847, pp. 18-9.

38 P. 22.

would not so much as hear any minister [of course, in the Church of England] that did read common prayer. . . ." <sup>39</sup>

## VII.

**Canne's Life in Hull.**

Concerning Canne's life in Hull during the years 1650—1656 we have the following interesting, though perhaps somewhat prejudiced, description by his contemporary, Master John Shawe of that city:<sup>40</sup>

"When colonel [Robert] Overton was governor of Hull, he was perswaded by some persons to entertain for his chaplain to the garrison one John Canne; (I do not know that he was either University man or minister, but) he broached many fond opinions and drew away the governor and his wife and some others; I had many contests with him. This John Canne was a person of very litle learning, and his natural parts were not very great, and therefore vented fond new opinions to draw a party after him, but his fury and passion (if not malice) were, (if I may use that phrase, Nah: 3: 9), infinite. He had (to use Erasmus his phrase) *plus fellis quam humerorum*; and needed no adversary, but his own unquiet mind, of whom (if he be dead, which I certainly know not, but think that he is<sup>41</sup>) I may say with the Poet:

Is John departed? is Canne dead and gone?  
 Farewell to both, to Canne and eke to John:  
 Yet being dead, take this advice from me,  
 Let them not both in one grave buried be;  
 But lay John here, and lay Canne thereabout,  
 For if they both should meet, they would fall out.

But peace, lest he hear, and then I am sure he wil chide.

<sup>39</sup> P. 23.

<sup>40</sup> See the "Memoirs of Master John Shawe, sometime Vicar of Rotherham, Minister of St. Mary's, Lecturer of Holy Trinity Church, and Master of the Charterhouse, at Kingston-upon-Hull. *Written by himself in the year 1663-4.* Edited by the Rev. J. R. Boyle", Hull, 1882, 88, pp. 42-5.

<sup>41</sup> It appears to me that Mr. Shawe was not well informed on this point.

“ Collonel Overton the governor, and the officers did by a thick wal (which is now puld downe again) part the chancell of Trinity church in Hull from the body of it, and brake a door into the chancel, and so Mr. Canne preached to the governor (collonel Overton), and the soldjers there, at the same time when I preached in the body of the church, and yet I had constantly above 3000 hearers, and their people in the chancell could not hear us (no, not when we sung a Psalm); sure I am we could not hear them sing *Psalms*, for they sung none. This Mr. Canne came to Hull out of Holland,<sup>42</sup> whither formerly he had fled, and against whom pious and learned Mr. Ball hath writ a large and learned book (and therefore I need write nothing) in answer to him (and so have others also): he troubled both England and Holland. . . . But—I had many contests with him before *Oliver* the Protector, to whom he appealed, and elsewhere. At last, he printed a little pamphlet against me, where are some few truths, but most part lyes; I drew up an answer to it, but was over perswaded by divers discreet and learned men to let it alone and sleight it, seeing (said they) nobody regards it, but as a lying idle pamphlet, and few regard him; to answer it (said they) was too much to honor it, Prov. 26: 4, and would make it more regarded: contempt and silence are best answerers. And ere long he came to suffer enough (tho’ not by me), and I was unwilling to insult over him in calamity. Only when I had read the pamphlet, and saw how litle ill his great malice could say therein against me, I thanked God, . . . for if Can could have told any worse by me, I am sure he would not have spared me in the least.—But enough of this.”

A note by Mr. Boyle gives a few additional particulars of value in our present study:<sup>43</sup>

<sup>42</sup> This statement might seem to suggest that he came directly, and not after a visit to London, but I now believe he must have made his home in London between 1647 and 1650.

<sup>43</sup> “Memoirs of Master John Shawe”, Hull, 1882, pp. 43-4, note 71.

“ The following is the account of these transactions given by Abraham De la Pryme in his MS. History of Hull:—‘ In these times of trouble and confusion there was another hot-headed Preacher here, that came over from Amsterdam, whose name was Mr. Can, who being a mongrel Independent, preached openly to the Soldiers, both in the streets of the Town, and in the Garrison, and won himself so much into their favour that they called him their Preacher, and petitioned the Council of State to grant them the Chancel to meet in, and though that the Parishioners complained and petitioned against it, yet they got the grant of it in the year 1657 [probably 1651],<sup>44</sup> and walled up the arches between it and the Church, that the one might not disturb the other in their devotions,<sup>45</sup> pulled most of the Brasses up from the Gravestones, defaced the Monuments and Inscriptions, filled the same with Benches, and entered into the same by two doors through two old Chantries, the one on the North, the other on the South side thereof, and kept their filthy conventicle here, until the same was purged and they cast out by our good Josiah, King Charles the Second.’ In the first volume of the Parish Order-books preserved at Holy Trinity Church, on page 20, occurs the following entry, which refers to the removal of the pews or benches introduced into the chancel by Canne’s party:—

“ At the Trinity Church the sixth day of March 1659.

“ Whereas the leads over the Chancell are in great decay it is thought fitt and accordingly ordered

<sup>44</sup> Mr. Boyle suggests here that the date intended was 1647, but he elsewhere gives evidence which shows that it was probably 1651.

<sup>45</sup> Mr. John Broadley in his edition of the *Memoirs of the Life of Master John Shawe*, Hull, 1824, p. 59, has a note in which he cites from Tickell the following significant point: “ thus did the church continue for some years divided between the presbyterians and independents, not perhaps to the satisfaction of either. . . . ”

by the parishoners present that the churchwardens for the tyme beeing doe presently putt the same leads in good & sufficient repayre. And whereas great damage and preiudice hath fallen to the sayd Trinity Church by setting up pewes in the body of the Chancell, It is ordered that all the pewes & seats within the body of the sayd Chancell excepting the pulpitt & the pewes thereto belonging be forthwith taken up and sett by, . . . .”

## VIII.

**Canne's Second Banishment.**

In a Postscript at the close of “The Time of the End”, 1657, Canne makes this interesting reference to himself:<sup>46</sup>

“UPON my Banishment from *Hull* (for what Cause I know not, there being nothing to this day made known to me.) I went a part (as *Elias* did) into the *Wildernesse*. And as I lay under hedges, & in holes, my Soul in bitterness breathed forth many sad complaints before the Lord. *It is enough O Lord take away my life, for I am not better than my Fathers*. Often and sore wrestlings I had with my God, to know His *Meaning* and *Teaching*, under this Dispensation; And what further work. (whether *Doing* or *Suffering*) he had for me, his *Poor old Se[r]vant*, being now againe Banished, after *17 years Banishment before*.”

## IX.

**Canne's Sufferings in London.**

Finally, the following vivid description of one of Canne's experiences as a Fifth Monarchy man may be given:<sup>47</sup>

<sup>46</sup> Pp. 265-6.

<sup>47</sup> From “A NARRATIVE; | Wherein is faithfully set forth the suffe- | rings of *John Canne*, . . .”, London, 1658, pp. 3-5



“ Upon the first day of the second moneth commonly called *April*, 1658. Many of the Lords People being Assembled together in *Swan Alley* in *Coleman street* (a publick place where Saints have met many years). As they were there waiting upon the Lord in Prayer and other holy duties, on a sudden the *Marshall of the City*, with severall other Officers, rushed in with great violence upon them. The which fight for the suddenesse and strangeness of it, occasioned some amazement among the people; who were there peaceably worshipping God in spirit and Truth: having no other weapons but Faith and Prayer.

“ Old Brother *Cann* was then in the Pulpit, and had read a place of Scripture but spoken nothing to it, the Scripture was *Numb. 16. 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 66*, Now he perceiving that they came in at both doores with their Halbets, Pikes, Staves, &c. and fearing least there might be some hurt done to the Lords poor and naked people: He desired the Brethren and Sisters to be all quiet, and to make no stir: for his part he feared them not, but was assured the Lord would eminently stand by them.

“ Whilst he was thus speaking to the people, exhorting them to patience, one of the Officers (breaking through the croud) came furiously upon him, and with great violence pluckt him out of the Pulpit, and when he had so done, hurled him over the Benches or Forms, in a very barbarous manner. Some Brethren being nigh endeavoured to have saved Brother *Cann* from falling, but the rage of the Officers was such, as they fell in upon him, although through mercy he had not much hurt by it.

“ Having thus a while pull'd and halled him, at last they brought him to the *Mayor of the City*, who was without the doore (with one of the Sheriffs on horse-back) waiting for the Brethren to be taken and brought to him. The Brother asked the Mayor, *What he had*

against him, telling him, withall, for his part, he desired no more favour at his hands, than was allowed to Thieves and Murtherers, that is, to know what they had to charge him with, and who were his accusers. To which the Mayor Answered Mr. Cann (saith he) *I have nothing against you, neither do I know any evill you have done; but think you are an honest man, onely you must appear before his Highnesse, and I will send you thither presently. No saith the sheriff, keep him till to morrow morning, and then send him.* And so the Mayor bid one of his Officers to carry our Brother to the Counter. Afterward they brought seven more to the *Mayor*, of which number, five had never spoken in that Meeting place, but came onely to hear: Now that which occasioned their apprehending and sending to prison, it was because they spake against the cruelty and inhumane dealing exercised upon Brother *Cann*, saying, aloud, *He is an old man and do not use him so barbarously.*

“Having brought eight of them to the *Counter* with Halberts, Staves: here presently begun a new trouble, for the Keeper having neither a Warrant for their Commitment, nor knowing who they were; comes to enquire for their Names, all refused to tell him their names except Brother *Cann* (whose name they knew before) whereupon they were all seven thrust into the *cold stinking hole*, and would not allow them any Beds to lie on, nor any other place in the prison, though they offered them any reasonable content. In this noisome place, they were kept all night, neither suffered the next day to come forth (though the rest of the Prisoners did) till they were all sent for by the *Mayor* to come before him, which was about 3, or 4. of the clock in the afternoon.

“When they came to the *Mayors* house, he sent for them one by one into a private room; some of the Brethren desired that they might be heard openly,

and that their freinds might be witnesses to what was spoke: But this would not be granted. The first that they called, was Brother *Cann*; The *Mayor* asked him, *What he thought of the present Government?* his Answer was: *For the present Government, I am not (saith he) satisfied with it. But this concerns not you: Neither shall I speak now any thing to you about it: but if you send me to the Protector, I shall tell him what I think concerning this Government. For I have a great deal to say to his face, if in such a way as this, I may be brought before him. But for you Sir, this is not our businesse now.* Many words passed too and fro, not worth the mentioning here: onely I shall note a little, concerning the *Marshall*. He had been a little before in *Coleman street*, and having heard Brother *Cann* exercise there, gave him thanks before the people, *for his good Sermon*: He being now with the *Mayor*, Brother *Cann* told him what he had said, his Answer was, *I confesse (saith he) it was a good Sermon, but I knew who you meant, even the Lord Protector*: thus he acknowledged the matter to be good, onely the meaning of the brother, that he presumed to know, and could tell how to apply it."

## C.

Finally, we may briefly touch upon three problems in Canne's career which have thus far not been adequately treated.

The first of these relates to the period of his first exile, which, it will be remembered, covered seventeen years. Mr. Stovel imagined that this lasted from 1623 to 1640, while Mr. Axon\* seems to avoid the question. My own belief is now that the period terminated in 1647, after the taking of that "blessed martyr" Charles I., and that it began in 1630.

The second problem concerns Canne's banishment from Hull in 1656. The cause of this, he says,

he does not know,—a strange remark, since we are now aware that for several years he had had enemies in Hull who had apparently done their utmost to undermine his influence. In this attempt they seem at first, however, to have been only partially successful, for early in 1656 his home was still at Hull. In July, 1656, he was unexpectedly banished.

From the meagre details which are now at our disposal, is it possible to gain any further insight into Canne's difficulties in Hull? It is my belief that we can. It appears to me that they were really connected with a cause which made trouble for all of its prominent adherents, namely, the Fifth Monarchy Movement, which began to arouse apprehensions on the part of the authorities in London as early as 1653. In 1656 the movement was approaching its first crisis. The suspicions of the government had already been aroused. John Canne's sympathies were well known in Hull, and apparently as the movement advanced his enemies had new opportunities for bringing about his 'downfall.' Information against him was sent up to London, and on July 25, 1656, President Lawrence from Whitehall wrote to the Governor and the Mayor of Kingston-upon-Hull in behalf of the Protector and the Council expressing "fear that the peace and safety of the garrison and town of Hull may be endangered by Mr. Canne's residence", and giving instructions "to order him to remove forthwith out of the town, or you will cause him to be removed."<sup>48</sup> Thus was Canne's sojourn in Hull brought to a sudden and untimely close. As a result of the hardships which his family were now compelled to endure his wife and a daughter died.

The third problem pertains to the time when Canne became an Anabaptist, Baptized man, or Baptist. We

---

<sup>48</sup> *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1656-7*, London, 1883, edited by Mary Anne Everett Green, p. 41.

have already seen that the so-called "Broadmead Records" cannot be relied on for information relating to the subject of baptism, and they, I believe, are alone responsible for the belief that he ever became one. John Ball speaks of Canne in 1642 as being the leader of the Brownist church in Amsterdam. Furthermore, even in 1645 it is probable that he still occupied the same position, while in 1649 at London he was apparently not an Anabaptist, but only a Separatist. From a note<sup>49</sup> in Mr. Boyle's edition of the *Memoirs of Master John Shawe*, Hull, 1882, as we have already seen, it is likewise evident that between 1650 and 1656 Canne was looked upon as an Independent. When then did he adopt Anabaptist views? Or is this story of his being a Baptized man a mere fiction? At present I am disposed to think that it is an unconscious fabrication of Mr. Terrill's brain. And this explanation appears the more likely to be true, after an examination of the 1662 and 1664 editions of Canne's Bible, in which I have been unable to discover any marginal references such as one might naturally expect to find, suggesting that he had at that period become an Anabaptist, or a rebaptized or immersed Fifth Monarchy man.

Furthermore, Steven's *History of the Scottish Church in Rotterdam*, pp. 270-71, as cited by Mr. Stovel,<sup>50</sup> certainly suggests that when Canne died he was once more the leader of the Brownist congregation at Amsterdam. If this was indeed the case, as there seems to be little reason for doubting, we need not have much hesitation in concluding that John Canne's connection with the English Anabaptists is absolutely unhistorical. At any rate, he can now be much more accurately described during all the years 1640-1664 as a prime promoter of the Fifth Monarchy Movement, — a fact which his newly discovered letters help to make

49 Note 71 on pages 43-4.

50 *A Necessity of Separation* (Hanserd Knollys Society), 1849, p. xxvii.

evident; and we may also feel perfectly certain that his sympathies throughout his long life were for the most part, if indeed not altogether, on the side of the Brownists and Independents, and not of the Anabaptists.

In closing, I would merely remind the reader of two points which perhaps have not yet been made quite clear in this paper. 1. In none of his many extant writings does John Canne claim, or speak of, any connection with the Anabaptists, nor so far as I remember, does he refer to rebaptism, "dipping", or other matters, such as he would have been certain to mention had he been an Anabaptist. Even his enemies never branded him with that name. 2. As to the way in which Canne came to be so mistakenly represented as a Baptist in the "Broadmead Records", fortunately we are not left entirely in the dark. We know that Mr. Terrill wrote the final copy of his work after 1672, and perhaps corrected it still later. He had evidently never known the Broadmead Church in any other light than as a Baptist congregation. From a comparison of the two editions of his manuscript published respectively by Dr. Underhill and by Mr. Haycroft, it seems that on looking over his work and finding certain supposed facts concerning baptism unaccountably wanting or lacking in emphasis, Mr. Terrill supplied in his final redaction such points as appeared to make the history more uniform and harmonious. Now Mr. Terrill had in his possession earlier papers relating to the history, as for instance the "Waste Book", and probably his first text differed from them as much as Dr. Underhill's edition does from Mr. Haycroft's. Terrill found Canne's name and some account of him in these papers, and without manifesting any more critical acumen than he has shown in the rest of his narrative seems, without further thought, to have added to this account and to have described him as

a "Baptized man". By this means a somewhat more harmonious description of the origin of the Broadmead church was produced, but at the same time an error was transmitted to credulous posterity, which has proved a great hindrance to clear historical thinking, and to the correction of which too large a proportion of the present paper has unfortunately had to be devoted.

CHAMPLIN BURRAGE.

### Thomas Tillam of Colchester.

In "Transactions," Vol. III., No. 3, reference was made to a series of "disputations" on the Sabbath question between Peter Chamberlen, Thomas Tillam, and Matthew Coppinger on the one part, and Jeremiah Ives on the other part. From the fact that the account of the debate was issued by Ives in 1659, it is generally concluded that the "disputations" took place in that year, and so given in error on pp. 184, 188, of this volume; whereas they came off in 1658. The book in which Ives described the proceedings was addressed to "beleivers in Christ, especially they who are in bondage to the Jewish Sabbath, and more particularly to those in Colchester"—a thrust at Tillam, who had entered upon the pastorate there. In the same year Edm. Warren, "Minister of the Gospel in Colchester," answered Tillam in "The Jews' Sabbath Antiquated," in the preface of which he speaks of a treatise by Tillam, "by profession an Anabaptist," who had been pleased "to print and found a challenge and provoke me to the combat in answering of it," Pass on to 1678, in which year Thomas Grantham, "a Servant of Christ," also opposed Tillam, in "Christianismus Primitivus," speaking of him as "T. Tillam, of Colchester, an Apostate" (Book III., ch. 10, sec. 2, p. 56). Thus it would appear that Tillam was resident in Colchester for at least twenty years. Adverting to the Chamberlen story, I may correct an error (on p. 188). The "dwelling on Garlick Hill" was at "the lower end of Bowe Lane" (not *lowest*).

J. W. THIRTLE.

From a study of Tillam completed two years ago, based partly on the State Papers, may be added that on 13 June 1660 he was under restraint, on 1 September 1661 he was reported as having landed at Lowestoft having settled a hundred families in the Palatinate, on 3 December 1664 he was still on the same business, on 24 August 1665 he was with Colonel Blood in Ireland, on 14 December 1666 he was sending agents to the north to get more emigrants, and on 5 March 1668-9 full details are given of the remarkable community at the monastery, and the Jewish customs there observed.

EDITOR.

## Two Association Meetings in Kent, 1657.

1657            Several pticulars Debated & agreed upon  
by the Messengers Elders & Brethren at  
a quarterly meeteing at Chattam upon y  
10<sup>th</sup> day of ye 1<sup>st</sup> month 1657

- 1 In answer to ye quiriōs about fighting we say y<sup>t</sup>  
in some casses it may be Lawfull; but as ye affaires  
of ye nation now standeth & is like to continue till  
ye appeareing of ye Lord Jesus we account it exceed-  
ing dangerous Ro:13. 10. Tit. 3. 1. 1 pet. 2. 13.  
Luk 3. 12, 13, 14—Jer 25, 15 to 34. dan 11. 32, 33.  
Reu: 13. 10.
- 2 And for officers of Churches to list themselves either  
as private soulders or Comission officers y<sup>t</sup> it is  
altogether vnlawfull.  
Rom 12. 7. Luk. 16. 13. 1 Tim 3. 3
- 3 That there be all possible care in propogateing the  
Gospel by Imploying ye Messengers in ye work of  
ye Lord Jesus sending with each of them one young  
disciple of good report that himselfe shall approue  
of and that ye Deacons of ye Respective Congre-  
gations be desiered to take speciall care not only of  
ye Messengers to supply them with all things nesces-  
sary for their Journeying but also that their  
ffamilies be well provided for in ther absence  
mark 16. 15. 1 Cor 9. 16 matt 24. 45 & 9. 38.  
acts 6. 4. Acts 16. 1, 2, 3. 1 Cor. 9. 14. 2 Tim 2. 6
- 4 That all diligence be used by ye Churches to Cherish  
young gifts & that thos that begin to speak be put  
forward at thos times that may be most seasonable  
puting them in minde y<sup>t</sup> they continue their dis-



courses no Longer than they can speak as y<sup>e</sup> oracles of God and finde assistance from y<sup>e</sup> Spirit to speak with power.

2 tim. 1. 6. 1 Cor. 14. 39.

heb. 5. 12. 1 peter. 4. 11.

- 5 And concerning observation of days we say that one Day in seven at least is to be set apart for y<sup>e</sup> servants to meet in y<sup>e</sup> worship of God & seeing y<sup>e</sup> servants of y<sup>e</sup> Lord in y<sup>e</sup> primitive Churches whose steps we are to follow did meet on y<sup>e</sup> first day of y<sup>e</sup> week we therefore Judge it necessary that we observe y<sup>e</sup> same day Lickwise

heb: 10. 25 act. 2. 7.

Jo<sup>a</sup> 20. 19 1 cor. 16. 1.

- 6 It is also agreed that we cannot have communion with any that disownes any principle of y<sup>e</sup> doctrine of Christ neither with those that practice mixt communion although themselves owne everie principle of Christ Doctrine

Ro: 6. 17 & 16. 17. 1 tim. 6. 34

2 Jō. 9, 10. heb. 6. 1, 2.

The Agreement of y<sup>e</sup> Messengers Elders & Brethren Meeting at Biddenden y<sup>e</sup> 26<sup>th</sup> & 27<sup>th</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> third month 1657 concerning those things following in answer to several questions

That y<sup>e</sup> Elders of y<sup>e</sup> Church may not go in y<sup>e</sup> time of the Churchs appointed meeting to any Sister Church or y<sup>e</sup> world to preach y<sup>e</sup> Gospel with out y<sup>e</sup> assent of y<sup>e</sup> Congregation

1 cor. 16. 14 Ro. 14. 19. 1 pet 5. 5.

Yet not withstanding y<sup>e</sup> Churches & Elders ought to take such care that both sister Churches & y<sup>e</sup> world may have y<sup>e</sup> more of y<sup>e</sup> Gosple Ministered unto them at all seasonable times so farr as in them lieth.

phi 1. 27. Rev 22. 17. 1 Thess 2. 16 & 1. 8. act 18. 26, 27.

It is also agreed that Gifted members of Churches may not without y<sup>e</sup> approbation of y<sup>e</sup> Churches they be-long unto go forth by their own appointment to preach to the world or to make it their frequent practice to preach to other Churches

Ro: 12. 3, 4. & 14. 9. acts. 11. 22. 2 Cor 14. 40.

father more it is agreed that members of Churches may not commonly leave that Congregation they are related unto & go to other Churches to hear y<sup>e</sup> word without y<sup>e</sup> assent of y<sup>e</sup> Congregation they stand engaged unto.

heb. 13. 17. & 10. 25.

It is agreed that they that are Chosen Elders of Congregations may not be countinanced in laying down of their offices they remaining stedfast in y<sup>e</sup> faith not blasted in their gifts for sin.

1 pet. 5. 2, 4, 7. Ro. 12. 7. act. 20. 28. to 32.

And further more it is agreed that Elders cannont fulfil their Ministry on y<sup>e</sup> first days of y<sup>e</sup> weeke but allso must spend some other time in vissiting of y<sup>e</sup> Sicke & seeking after y<sup>e</sup> straying disiples &c in order to which it is farther agreed that y<sup>e</sup> Churches are bound in duty to assist them upon that accompt so that they & theirs may live comfortablely & farthermore that some as helpes of Government may very much helpe the Elders their work so that they may not leave of their callings but contrarywise work with their hands at all seasonable times

act 20. 34, 35. 2 tim 4. 21. Matt 18. 12, 13. James 5. 14. 1 tim 4. 13, 14. gall. 6. 6. 1 tim. 5. 17, 18

That it is Lawfull for y<sup>e</sup> ending of strife in a soleme way to swear by the name of y<sup>e</sup> Lord & not otherwise or in such a mañer as paul did

gall 1. 20. heb. 6. 16.. 2 Cor. 1. 27

That y<sup>e</sup> Congregations of Christ ought not to hold communion with any y<sup>t</sup> do not believe & practis all those

principles mentioned heb 6. 1, 2. we mean touching that of laying on of hands that we cannot own communion w<sup>t</sup> any that do not believe & accordingly submite unto prayer with laying on of hands for y<sup>e</sup> receiveing of the gifes of the Spirite as a principle of the Doctrine of Christ.

Act. 12 to y<sup>e</sup> 21. chap. 9. 7 cha 19. 5, 6, 7. 2 tim. 1. 6. heb. 6. 1, 2. Ro. 6. 17. cha. 16. 17.. 2 thes 3. 6.. 1 tim. 6. 3, 5. Joh Ep. 2. 9.

---

The preceding decisions have been copied by the Rev. Horace Warde of Richmond from page 31 of the minute book of the church at Tunbridge Wells, now lodged at the British Museum as Additional Manuscript 36709.

They testify to the General Baptists of Kent holding quarterly meetings, and show that if other ancient Kentish books were available, we might recover more of these minutes. Not till 1719 did James Richardson institute an Association Minute Book.

They show that while the Calvinistic Baptists were found in the army, and took very prominent posts there, as other papers in this issue illustrate, the General Baptists were strongly opposed to enlistment. Opinion however was not unanimous even in Kent; Edward Morecock of Chatham held a commission as captain in the navy, and was known to preach in his scarlet uniform.

They indicate that the local officers, Elders and Deacons, were being sharply distinguished from the itinerant officers, Messengers; but that the system still needed clear definition. It is regrettable that no signatures are appended, to compare with the lists of both known in 1654 and 1660, or with the signatures to the Minutes of Assembly in 1656, recorded in this same book, and printed in our edition of 1909.

## Dangerous Persons come Lately out of Ireland, 1660.

Egerton MS. 2542 in the Baptist Museum. A list given to Sir Edward Nicholas, Clerk to the Privy Council, on 15 June 1660, by M. A. Transcribed by Horace Warde, M.A., of Richmond. Notes by the Editor.

The persons under named came lately out of Ireland. And those marked (A) are most dangerous Annabaptists.

|  |   |  |
|--|---|--|
| Collonells                             | } | A Sankey<br>A Lawrence<br>A Wallis<br>Bridges<br>A Barrow<br>Markham<br>A Manwaring<br>Herbert<br>Warren |
| Maiors                                 | } | A Godfrey<br>A Deane   |
| Capts                                  | } | A Walcott<br>Kingdon<br>A Mr Roberts<br>Mr Markham<br>Mr Reignolds<br>A Mr Morley<br>Mr Hewitt           |
| Quarterm <sup>r</sup> gen <sup>l</sup> |   | A Allen  |
| Adjutant gen <sup>l</sup>              |   | A Vernon   |

Jerome Sankey or Zanchej in 1648 was a Captain, and sat on the committee of officers which was deeply concerned in the trial and execution of Charles. During 1651 and 1652 he was in Ireland, as we learn from Ludlow's Memoirs; some manuscript sermons of "Cornet Sankey" are in Marsh's Library at Dublin. With the revolution early in 1653 he came into prominence; for instance on 31 May he was joined with Colonel Pride on a committee concerning the invalids at Savoy and Ely House. At the counter-revolution in December he apparently returned to Ireland. After attending meetings of Levellers in the autumn of 1654, he decided to support the Protectorate. A year later he corresponded with Henry Cromwell, and when he returned to Dublin at the close of 1655 he had no small share in reconciling the Irish Baptists, who had previously been satisfied with nothing but the saddle. Henry was declining to be their ass, but in 1656 he still felt uneasy and told Thurloe that he was doubtful about Sankey and Vernon. In March 1658, Sankey approved the Petition and Advice that Cromwell should assume the title of King, and won over all but twelve Baptists. Richard Cromwell, however, was of another calibre, and Sankey took another line with him. In 1659 he was again on the Council of officers which sat at Wallingford House, seizing the supreme power; and he took an active part in reinstating three other extreme Baptist officers, Colonel Overton, Colonel Packer, and Major Gladman. With Adjutant-General Allen and other Baptists he recalled Lenthal to the chair of the Commons in May. On 16 June he was appointed to a horse regiment in Ireland. In August he brought over the Irish Brigade from Dublin to suppress the royalist rising under Sir George Booth. In June 1660 he is here reported to have left Ireland; the Act of Oblivion in August rendered him safe. In January 1661 he figures as a member of Spilsbery's

Church which with seven other churches dissociated themselves publicly from Venner's rising. Then his public career closed. Widow Zanchez took a licence on 25 July 1672 for worship to be conducted in her house at Church Stretton, Salop, several other Baptist licenses being issued the same day, some in the same district.

Richard Lawrence had been a prominent Baptist, having been governor of Waterford. He was brother of Henry Lawrence, president of the English Council of State, and had married a daughter of John Hewson, another "dangerous person." On the matter of the kingship, he had strongly approved Oliver's refusal; and though cashiered soon afterwards, was re-commissioned in 1659 from Wallingford House.

Colonel Barrow is easily identified with the captain who on 13 May 1653 took Rouse's island in Ireland and put eighty men to the sword. His regiment had been disbanded by 1655, but he was re-commissioned. In 1656 he, with Vernon and Allen and Axtell, planned to embarrass Henry Cromwell by sudden resignations, but all four were accepted. They too were put in power again by Wallingford House.

Many Deanes were Baptists. This cannot be the famous General, who sat on the court that condemned Charles, and died in the moment of victory in command at sea in 1653. Nor is it likely to be the John in power at Reading as J.P. during 1659. Probably this is the Captain Richard, of Colonel Robert Lilburn's regiment of foot, who on 12 July 1647 signed a letter from the Agitators to the Army in Wales, and four days later sat on a council of war at Reading with his cousin the Admiral to be. In November he was put on a committee to conciliate the army; a year later he was on the General Council at Whitehall amending Lilburne's draft. In 1650 he was employed by the Parliamentary commissioners for Ireland. Nine years later he was trying to keep Monk's soldiers true to the good old

cause, then he naturally dropped out of public service. In 1663 he joined in giving £50 bail for Mr. Ewins at Bristol. A letter of his to the bishop of Lincoln has often been quoted, printed as part of a little book on baptism in 1693.

Edward Roberts had not been in the army. He turns up first at the Glass-House church in London, which had made its appearance in 1644 under Gunn and Mabbat. In 1650 he was taking the lead in many directions, stirring up the Welsh churches; next year he signed the third edition of the Confession, and soon afterwards crossed to Waterford. Three years later he promoted a letter to Cromwell from the Irish Baptists. After the return here noted, he joined his old church in repudiating Venner in 1661. Then both he and it pass out of sight.

Captain Walcott may be compared with the Thomas Walcot who, on 1 June 1672 along with John Allen applied for their houses in Bungay to be licensed for Baptist and Congregational worship.

Last and chief come Adjutant-general William Allen, and Quartermaster-general John Vernon. Allen had been in the conferences of 1648 with Axtell, Packer, Sankey, and many other Baptists, which had led to the execution of Charles; and he was deeply imbued with Fifth-Monarchy views. Vernon was a rather quieter man, who comes first to notice in 1650, signing "Heartbleedings," and thus identified as a Londoner. By June 1653 he was writing from Ireland to the London churches, and was trying to win over John Rogers. Both men watched with hope the Nominated Parliament, and were dismayed at its sudden close; they kept quiet however, though in March 1654 both sent long letters to their old comrade Cromwell, expostulating on his action. Allen stood for the First Protectorate Parliament and was defeated; Cromwell summoned him to England, as his campaign speeches.

were somewhat dangerous, and he retired to Exeter. But by February 1655 he was found to be busy among the Baptist churches in that neighbourhood, and as his wife fell ill, he was allowed to return to Dublin in September. This caused fresh Baptist activity there; Vernon toured round the churches at Clonmel, Waterford, Kilkenny, and other towns, preaching against young or wicked governors, much to Henry Cromwell's annoyance. When Mrs. Allen died in December, Henry was specially invited to the funeral sermon by Thomas Patient, and was tickled at finding the discourse to be on presumption and baptism. He had a little peace next year till Vernon returned in August, and worked up the dramatic resignation in December which fell so flat. During 1657 Vernon took his family to England, and it was now Oliver's turn to look out for trouble. In May 1658 the Western Association was meeting at Dorchester, with 300 delegates, including Vernon, Allen, and Deane, but with a quieter element represented by Kiffin. He was able to restrain the leaders from falling in with the Fifth-Monarchy men, now preparing again for action. Vernon and Allen returned to Exeter, and laid plans for another great meeting, as soon as Cromwell was dead. In the whirl of events, they came to the conclusion that the Good Old Cause had suffered ever since Cromwell expelled the Rump Parliament, and Allen published in April 1659 in favour of its recall. Both were then reinstated in the army by the Wallingford House cabal, and signed a petition against rule by any single person, that the way might still be clear for the Fifth Monarchy. Next year a new leader appeared in Monk, and when he cashiered nine out of ten of the old officers, Allen found it vain to rouse resistance. By April 1660, both were in danger of arrest, and Allen disappears soon after. Vernon was under constant observation in



1663, as he conducted meetings till the Conventicle Act rendered them illegal. Then he seems to have turned physician as well as minister, and makes his last public appearance in 1674, when he added weight to a certificate of the good faith of Thomas Hicks, in a dispute with Quakers.

It will be seen that it was no vain flattery to call men like these, dangerous Anabaptists. They had played no small parts in the events of the last twelve years, and show what a strong political and military power the Baptists exercised in that period. An excellent study of their influence, and of their relations with the Fifth-Monarchy men has just been published by the American Historical Association, a prize essay by Miss Brown, of Wellesley College, and a few of the details above are due to her industry. A perusal of her book raises regret that it was impossible for England to profit by Baptist statesmanship for centuries after 1660.

### **Welsh Seventh-Day Baptists.**

1. What authority had Toulmin, editing Neal's *History of the Puritans*, to say that Vavasor Powell was a "Sabbatarian Baptist"?

2. In the latter part of the seventeenth century and the early eighteenth, several families named Rytherach, Lewis, Bee, came from Wales and settled in the Delaware Valley, where they joined the Seventh-Day Baptists. The Bee family claim to be of Hebrew descent, and think they came through Ireland. Can anyone trace if these families belonged to Seventh-Day churches in Wales?

3. William G. Jones, pastor of a Brooklyn Baptist church, was preaching in 1889 for a Seventh-Day Baptist church in New York City, and told that about 1850 his grandfather in Wales took him to a Seventh-Day meeting in an upper room, where eight or nine people met regularly; he understood that there were a few other scattered groups.

Any information on these points will be welcomed by Charles H. Greene, 232 North Washington Avenue, Battle Creek, Michigan, U.S.A.

### **Lostock the birth-place of John Johnson.**

On page 54 the earliest biographer was followed in identifying this as near Eccles in Lancashire. It seems to be Lostock Gralam in Cheshire.

# Baptist Historical Society.



## President:

PRINCIPAL GOULD, M.A., D.D.

## Vice-Presidents:

SIR GEORGE W. MACALPINE, J.P., LL.D.

REV. J. H. SHAKESPEARE, M.A.

REV. T. VINCENT TYMMS, D.D.

## Hon. Secretary:

REV. W. T. WHITLEY, M.A., LL.D., F.R.Hist.S.,  
3, Stanley Terrace, Preston.

## Hon. Treasurer:

J. W. THIRTLE, Esq., LL.D., M.R.A.S.,  
23, Borthwick Road, Stratford, E.

## Committee:

REV. F. G. BENSKIN, M.A.

PRINCIPAL BLOMFIELD, B.A., B.D., F.T.S.

REV. J. H. BROOKSBANK, A.T.S.

PROF. A. J. D. FARRER, B.A.

REV. J. C. FOSTER.

PROF. S. W. GREEN, M.A.

REV. JOHN HASLAM, D.D., F.R.Hist.S.

HAROLD KNOTT, Esq., M.A.

REV. A. S. LANGLEY, F.R.Hist.S.

PRINCIPAL MARSHALL, M.A., D.D.

PROF. H. WHEELER ROBINSON, M.A.

REV. HORACE WARDE, M.A.

## LIST OF MEMBERS.

The asterisk distinguishes Members in *Class A*.

- G. R. Adams, Esq., Battersea Park, S.W.  
 Prof. W. Steadman Aldis, M.A., Tenterden, Kent.  
 \*Jesse Altham, Esq., J.P., B.Sc., Greenodd, *via* Ulverston.  
 \*C. J. Angus, Esq., Hampstead, N.W.  
 J. Mortimer Angus, Esq., Llanishen, near Cardiff.  
 Rev. W. J. Avery, Derby.  
 \*A. Barran, Esq., J.P., Headingley, Leeds.  
 \*Rev. F. G. Benskin, M.A., Bristol.  
 \*Rev. Principal Blomfield, B.A., B.D., F.T.S., Rawdon College, Leeds.  
 \*Rev. Principal Bowser, B.A., Midland Baptist College, Nottingham.  
 \*Sir Joseph Bright, J.P., Nottingham.  
 Rev. W. Brock, Golder's Green, N.  
 Rev. J. H. Brooksbank, A.T.S., Chesham, Bucks.  
 \*Champlin Burrage, Esq., M.A., B.Litt., Oxford.  
 Rev. James Butlin, M.A., Leamington.  
 Rev. F. W. Butt-Thompson, Batley, Yorks.  
 Rev. S. Caldwell, Oldham.  
 \*Rev. J. C. Carlile, Folkestone.  
 Rev. H. B. Case, Tiverton, Devon.  
 \*Rev. C. Evelyn Charlesworth, Hastings.  
 \*John Chivers, Esq., J.P., Cambridge.  
 \*Charles Churchill, Esq., Finsbury Park, N.  
 \*Rev. John Clifford, M.A., B.Sc., LL.B., D.D., LL.D., F.G.S., Westbourne Park, W.  
 \*Sir W. J. Collins, D.L., J.P., M.D., M.S., F.R.C.S., Vice-Chancellor of the University of London, Regent's Park, N.W.  
 Rev. Joseph Cornish, Middlesbrough.  
 A. C. Crane, Esq., London, W.C.  
 Rev. President W. C. Daland, M.A., D.D., Milton College, Wisconsin, U.S.A.  
 Rev. Professor T. Witton Davies, B.A., Ph.D., D.D., M.R.A.S., Bangor, N. Wales.  
 A. Davies, Esq., Coventry.  
 L. E. Davies, Esq., Newtown, N. Wales.  
 Rev. President B. C. Davis, M.A., Ph.D., D.D., Alfred University, New York.  
 R. Harvey Daw, Esq., Plympton, Devon.  
 Rev. Thomas Douglas, Lymington, Hants.  
 \*Rev. J. W. Ewing, M.A., D.D., Camberwell, S.E.  
 \*Rev. Professor Farrer, B.A., Pinner.  
 Rev. James Ford, Bromsgrove.  
 \*Rev. J. C. Foster, Forest Hill, S.E.  
 J. Fowler, Esq., Salisbury.  
 F. A. Freer, Esq., Cirencester.  
 Rev. J. H. French, Forest Gate, E.  
 Albert Fry, Esq., London.  
 Rev. Professor D. Glass, M.A., A.T.S., Rawdon, Leeds.  
 \*Rev. Alex. Gordon, Belfast.  
 \*Rev. Principal Gould, M.A., D.D., Regent's Park College, N.W.  
 \*H. P. Gould, Esq., Eaton, Norwich.  
 \*Sir Alfred Pearce Gould, K.C.V.O., M.S., F.R.C.S., London, W.  
 Rev. C. R. Green, Liverpool.  
 \*Rev. Professor S. W. Green, M.A., Streatham Hill, S.W.  
 \*C. H. Greene, Esq., Battle Creek, Michigan, U.S.A.  
 \*Rev. Professor W. Hackney, M.A., Streatham Common, S.W.

- Rev. J. S. Harrison, Gipsy Hill, S.E.
- \*Rev. J. Haslam, D.D., F.R.Hist.S., Harrogate.
- W. J. Haslam, Esq., Harrogate.
- Rev. George Hill, M.A., D.D., Nottingham.
- \*Sir John C. Horsfall, Bart., J.P., Crosshills, near Keighley.
- Alderman T. J. Hughes, Bridgend, Glamorgan.
- Rev. F. A. Jones, Ilford, Essex.
- J. E. Joselin, Esq., New Wandsworth, S.W.
- W. Kay, Esq., Bolton.
- Harold Knott, Esq., M.A., Willington, Manchester.
- \*Rev. A. S. Langley, F.R.Hist.S., Longton, Staffs.
- G. H. Laurie, Esq., Birkenhead.
- Rev. A. H. Lewis, B.D., Long Buckby, Rugby.
- Rev. John Lewis, Canterbury.
- W. S. Linton, Esq., Lincoln.
- \*Eustace Little, Esq., Princes Risboro, Bucks.
- G. Loosley, Esq., Berkhamsted.
- Rev. W. S. Lord, Loughton, Essex.
- \*Sir George W. Macalpine, J.P., LL.D., Accrington.
- Rev. T. R. McNab, Tonbridge.
- Rev. A. E. Main, M.A., D.D., L.H.D., Dean, Alfred Theological Seminary, New York.
- \*Herbert Marnham, Esq., J.P., Hampstead, N.W.
- \*Rev. Newton H. Marshall, M.A., Ph.D., Hampstead, N.W.
- \*Rev. Principal Marshall, M.A., D.D., Baptist College, Manchester.
- Rev. T. H. Martin, D.D., Glasgow.
- Rev. F. E. Miller, Sandy, Beds.
- Dr. Alfred M. Mumford, Withington, near Manchester.
- \*Rev. Professor A. H. Newman, D.D., LL.D., Dean, South-Western Baptist Theological Seminary, Fort Worth, Texas, U.S.A.
- Rev. B. Nightingale, M.A., Preston.
- \*T. S. Penny, Esq., J.P., Taunton.
- Claud C. Purchase, Esq., Shrewsbury.
- Professor Corliss Fitz Randolph, Ph.D., L.H.D., Newark, New Jersey, U.S.A.
- \*Rev. And. T. Richardson, Greenock, N.B.
- \*Edward Robinson, Esq., J.P., Sneyd Park, near Bristol.
- \*Rev. Professor H. Wheeler Robinson, M.A., Rawdon, near Leeds.
- Rev. Hugh Rodger, Bury St. Edmunds.
- \*Harold Rose, Esq., Stoke Newington.
- Rev. J. H. Rushbrooke, M.A., Hampstead Garden Suburb, N.W.
- \*J. W. Scholefield, Esq., J.P., Bootle, Liverpool.
- Rev. J. H. Shakespeare, M.A., Baptist Church House, W.C.
- Dr. Archibald Shaw, St. Austell, Cornwall.
- W. Sherring, Esq., Redland, Bristol.
- Rev. J. Sprunt, F.R.S.L., Belvedere, Kent.
- \*W. G. Stephens, Esq., J.P., Melbourne, Victoria.
- Rev. J. R. M. Stephens, London, E.C.
- \*J. W. Thirtle, Esq., LL.D., D.D., M.R.A.S., Stratford, E.
- \*R. Timms, Esq., Abington Park, Northampton.
- \*J. T. Todd, Esq., Norwich.
- Arthur Tucker, Esq., Stockbridge, Hants.
- W. Tulloch, Esq., Glasgow.
- \*Rev. T. Vincent Tymms, D.D., St. Leonards-on-Sea.
- \*James Ward, Esq., Nottingham.
- Rev. Horace Warde, M.A., Richmond.
- \*Rev. Hamilton Watts, M.A., Meols, Cheshire.
- Rev. A. H. West, B.A., B.D., A.T.S. Yeadon, Leeds.
- \*Rev. W. T. Whitley, M.A., LL.D., F.T.S., F.R.Hist.S., Preston.
- W. A. Wilson, Esq., Lamb's Conduit Street, W.C.

- \*Rev. James Wolfenden, D.D.,  
F.R.G.S., Morecambe.
- \*H. Ernest Wood, Esq., J.P., Cham-  
pion Hill, S.E.
- \*H. G. Wood, Esq., M.A., Selly Oak,  
Birmingham.
- S. Woodfield, Esq., Hornsey, Lon-  
don.

## SUBSCRIBING LIBRARIES.

- \*Angus Library, Regent's Park  
College, London, N.W.
- \*Baptist Union Library, 4, Southamp-  
ton Row, W.C.
- \*Colgate University, Hamilton, New  
York.
- Congregational Historical Society  
Memorial Hall, E.C.
- \*Dr. Williams Library, Gordon  
Square, W.C.
- Friends' Reference Library, Devon-  
shire House, E.C.
- \*John Rylands Library, Manchester.
- \*Leeds Central Free Public Library.
- \*Manchester Free Reference Lib-  
rary.
- \*National Library of Wales, Aberyst-  
wyth.
- \*Southern Baptist Theological  
Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky,  
U.S.A.

\* \* Members in *Class A* pay £1 1s. per annum, and receive all publications issued during the year; Members in *Class B* pay 5s. per annum, and receive the *Transactions* of the Society; the Life Subscription is £10 10s.

---

## FIFTH ANNUAL REPORT.

---

*Presented to and adopted by the Members on 1st May, 1913, in the  
Baptist Church House.*

---

**Y**OUR committee reports a fifth year of work along familiar lines. New subscribers have shown their interest in the work by suggesting and carrying out the transcription of records. Especially we note the work of Mr. Collie, who is copying the minutes of the Berkshire General Baptist Association, 1720-1760 [now complete]; and of Mr. Horace Warde, who is beginning

a systematic search at the Record Office, where the Calendars reveal much matter of interest from 1630 onwards.

The third number of the third volume of our Transactions, published last Monday, shows other help, and already there is in type material towards the October issue, including much relating to the seventeenth century, our heroic period.

As the society becomes better known, its advice is being sought as to investigation and publication, on behalf of churches and associations. Three or four proposals are under consideration for the extra volumes due in this and succeeding years, much material being ready in MS., or being far advanced towards final revision.

Several gifts to the library are acknowledged with thanks; Mr. Oliver Knott has presented three volumes of the Hanserd Knollys Society, the Secretary three of the Bunyan Library, the Treasurer David's Essex and Browne's Norfolk and Suffolk. The Committee has also purchased a complete set of the G. B. Repository and Magazine from 1797 to 1891. A complete set of the Baptist Magazine is desirable, and would be welcomed as a gift or as an exchange.

On behalf of the Committee,

G. P. GOULD, *President.*

W. T. WHITLEY, *Secretary.*

\* \* \* Several volumes of the Baptist Magazine have since been given by the secretary, Mr. Henderson of Leicester, Mr. Hardin of Shipley, Mr. Osborne of Tottlebank; the last of whom has also sent several Baptist Handbooks, memoirs of Christmas Evans and Knibb, Brine's treatises, Angus lectures and other smaller works.

## TREASURER'S ACCOUNT, 1912.

---

| To                                 | £        | s. | d. |
|------------------------------------|----------|----|----|
| Balance from previous year ... ..  | 16       | 1  | 6  |
| Subscriptions and Donations ... .. | 113      | 0  | 7  |
|                                    | £129 2 1 |    |    |

| By   | £        | s. | d. |
|--|----------|----|----|
| <i>Transactions</i> and "Ford Minutes"—Printing<br>and Publishing ... .. | 116      | 2  | 5  |
| Stationery, Advertising, Stamps, etc. ... ..                             | 3        | 8  | 0  |
| Books ... ..   | 6        | 2  | 0  |
| Bank Charges ... ..  | 1        | 2  | 2  |
| Balance forward ... ..   | 2        | 7  | 6  |
|  | £129 2 1 |    |    |

### LIABILITIES.

|  | £  | s. | d. |
|--|----|----|----|
| For <i>Transactions</i> , Vol. III., Part 2 ... .. | 19 | 4  | 3  |

Signed, J. W. THIRTLE, *Hon. Treasurer.*

Examined and found correct,

HAROLD KNOTT, *Hon. Auditor.*

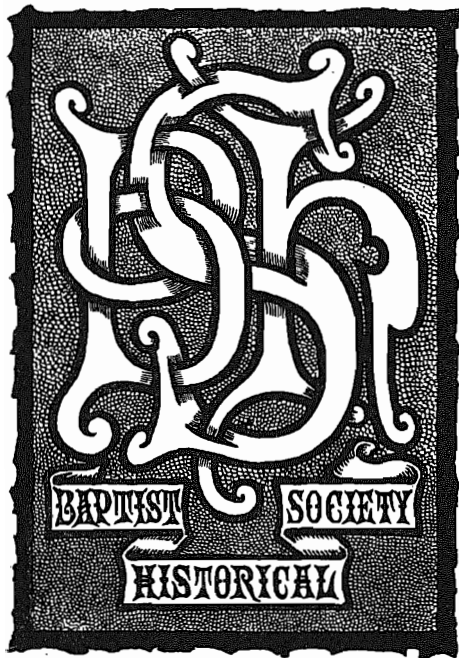
Feb. 14th, 1913.

**Transactions**  
of the  
**Baptist**  
**Historical**  
**Society**

VOLUME III  
1912—1913

LONDON  
BAPTIST UNION PUBLICATION DEPARTMENT  
4, SOUTHAMPTON ROW, W.C.





## Contents.

|   | PAGE    |
|---|---------|
| Salisbury and Tiverton about 1630 ... ..                          | 1       |
| Bampfield's Plan for an Educated Ministry ... ..                  | 8       |
| The Helwys Family, with Pedigree ... ..                           | 18      |
| The Revival of Immersion in Holland and England ... ..            | 31      |
| Haddenham and two Peter Tylers ... ..                             | 36      |
| Early Days at Eythorne ... ..                                     | 41      |
| A Hertfordshire Worthy, Jonas Thurrowgood ... ..                  | 51      |
| The "Johnsonian Baptists" ... ..                                  | 54      |
| William Mitchell's "Jachin and Boaz" ... ..                       | 65, 154 |
| The Estate of Mary Hall ... ..                                    | 89      |
| Early Baptist Writers of Verse; Cheare, Bunyan, Keach ... ..      | 95      |
| A.D. 1662—Uniformity or Unity ... ..                              | 111     |
| Was John Skinner ejected in 1662? ... ..                          | 117     |
| The Use of Parish Churches, 1641-1662 ... ..                      | 121     |
| The Fifth-Monarchy Manifesto of 1654 ... ..                       | 129     |
| Dr. Peter Chamberlen; Pastor, Propagandist, and Patentee ... ..   | 176     |
| James Toppe and the Tiverton Anabaptists ... ..                   | 193     |
| Was John Canne a Baptist? a Study of Contemporary Evidence ... .. | 212     |
| Two Association Meetings in Kent, 1657 ... ..                     | 247     |
| Dangerous Persons Come Lately out of Ireland, 1660 ... ..         | 251     |

### Short Notes.

|   |         |
|---|---------|
| Arrival of Smyth's Followers in Amsterdam ... ..    | 64, 128 |
| Burrage's "Early English Dissenters" ... ..         | 62      |
| Elder Wheaton of Swansea, 1730 ... ..               | 192     |
| Francis Smith, died 1691 ... ..                     | 35      |
| Gamston Baptist Church ... ..                       | 127     |
| Independents and Brownists ... ..                   | 64      |
| James Jones, Particular Baptist in Southwark ... .. | 191     |
| Lostock, the Birthplace of John Johnson ... ..      | 256     |
| Poetry and Psalmody ... ..                          | 127     |
| The Quarrell family ... ..                          | 7       |

|  |     |     |     |
|--|-----|-----|-----|
| Stanley's "Lest we Forget" the Ejectment of 1662 | ... | ... | 126 |
| Thomas Tillam                                    | ... | ... | 246 |
| Welsh Seventh Day Baptists                       | ... | ... | 256 |
| William Mitchell of Rossendale                   | ... | ... | 190 |
| The Woodward's                                   | ... | ... | 191 |

### Contributors, Ancient and Modern.

|  |     |     |             |
|--|-----|-----|-------------|
| Blomfield, Principal W. E., B.A., B.D., F.T.S. | ... | ... | 65          |
| Burgess, Walter H., B.A.                       | ... | ... | 18, 193     |
| Burrage, Champlin, M.A., B.Litt.               | ... | ... | 212         |
| Dawbarn, Robert                                | ... | ... | 54          |
| Fifth Monarchy Convention, 1654                | ... | ... | 129         |
| Foster, John Charles                           | ... | ... | 95          |
| Gerish, W. B.                                  | ... | ... | 51          |
| Gould, Principal G. P., M.A., D.D.             | ... | ... | 62          |
| Loosley, G.                                    | ... | ... | 36          |
| Macalpine, Sir George, J.P., LL.D.             | ... | ... | 111         |
| Mitchell, William, 1702                        | ... | ... | 65, 154     |
| Pinners' Hall Deacons, 1714                    | ... | ... | 89          |
| Stanley, John, F.R.Hist.S.                     | ... | ... | 117         |
| Stennett, Joseph, 1697                         | ... | ... | 8           |
| Thirtle, J. W., D.D., LL.D., M.R.A.S.          | ... | ... | 129, 176    |
| Warde, Horace, M.A.                            | ... | ... | 247, 251    |
| Whitley, W. T., M.A., LL.D., F.R.Hist.S....    | ... | ... | 31, 41, 121 |

## Index.

- Abington, 36.  
Adam, Ferdinand, 148.  
Adams family, 89.  
Aked, 57.  
Allen, James, 147; John, 148.  
Allen, Q.M.G. John, 251*ff.*  
Allhallows, 124, 141.  
Amersham, 39.  
Amsterdam, 200, 214*ff.*  
Andrew, John, 2.  
Archer, J., 202.  
Arnold, W., 94.  
Aske, Nath. and Robert, 147.  
Askham, 22.  
Association in Kent, 247.  
Atwell, Thomas, 44.  
Axholm, 64.  
Aylesbury, 95.  
Bache, Humphrey, 148.  
Baker, Thomas, 148.  
Ball, John, 148.  
Bampfield family, 8*ff.*, 34.  
Bampton, 198.  
Barber, Edward, 35, 60.  
Barbon, Praisegod, 149, 150.  
Barfrestone, 41.  
Baron, Joan, 41.  
Barratt, 125.  
Barrett, George, 147.  
Barrow, 251.  
Basford, 64.  
Bathoe, W., 147.  
Bate, W., 148.  
Batt, 90, 92.  
Batt, Timothy, 122.  
Batten, 32*ff.*  
Becham, 223.  
Beacham, Daniel, 46.  
Beacham, Richard, 43.  
Beaumont, 147.  
Bejent, John, 38.  
Belcher, John, 15, 188.  
Belcher, John, junior, 9.  
Bell, John, 118.  
Bell Lane, 188.  
Bellamy, Richard, 96, 211.  
Benge, Thomas, 46.  
Bennet, Robert, 149.  
Bernard, Thomas, 147.  
Berry, Richard and Charity, 3, 196.  
Berry, John, 147.  
Bewdley, 117.  
Bibles, 232*ff.*  
Biddenden, 247.  
Birch family, 43*ff.*  
Blackfriars, 124, 141.  
Blaiklock, Samuel, 34, 64.  
Bland, Richard, 147.  
Blunt, Richard, 34, 64.  
Bolstonne, Thomas, 118.  
Borden, Henry, 151.  
Boucher, 41.  
Boucher, Susanna, 89.  
Boughton Monchelsea, 44.  
Bradford-on-Avon, 6.  
Bradford, Yorkshire, 70, 152.  
Bradleigh, Samuel, 147.  
Bramhall, 57.  
Bramston, 151.  
Bridges, 251.  
Bridges, Henry, 147.  
Bristol, 212*ff.*  
Bromley, 57.  
Broxtowe, 25.  
Brownlow, Richard, 127.  
Brunt, 188.  
Bryant, Thomas, 198.  
Bunyan, 95*ff.*  
Burrowston, Lewis, 148.  
Burton, 152.  
Busher, Mark Leonard, 202.  
Butts Green, 57.  
Cade, Abraham, 2.  
Caffin, 186.  
Canne, 33, 212*ff.*  
Canterbury, 43*ff.*

- Carew, J., 150.  
 Carsewell, Josiah  
 Cartwright, Thomas, 147.  
 Cattle, Timothy, 220.  
 Chalkley, Isaac, 192.  
 Chamberlen, Peter, 146, 176.  
 Chamberlen, Mrs., 187.  
 Chapman, 119.  
 Chatham, 247.  
 Cheare, Abraham, 95*ff.*  
 Cheetham, Isaac, 55.  
 Chertsey, 91.  
 Chesterfield, 56.  
 Chichester, 47.  
 Chillenden, Edmund, 149, 191.  
 Chilton, Richard, 47.  
 Cirencester, 118.  
 Clarke, Francis, 1.  
 Clarke, James, 38.  
 Clarke, John, 147, 191.  
 Clearwell, 119.  
 Cleaver, Joseph, 147.  
 Clegg, Edmund, 56.  
 Clifton, Richard, 64.  
 Clonmel, 255.  
 Coate, 37.  
 Cockram, Israel, 3, 196.  
 Coker, 37.  
 Colchester, 42.  
 Coleman, Joan, 44.  
 Collett family, 37*ff.*  
 Collier, Joshua, 232.  
 Collier, Thomas, 6.  
 Colman Street, 180.  
 Combe, John, 147.  
 Cooper, Anthony, 148.  
 Cope, Christopher, 147.  
 Coppinger, 177.  
 Courtney, Hugh, 150.  
 Cove, 195*ff.*  
 Cox, Edward and Robert, 36.  
 Cox, John, 38.  
 Cradock, Walter, 217.  
 Crayle, Christopher, 147.  
 Crofts, John, 149.  
 Crosley, David, 65, 190.  
 Crundel, Thomas, 147.  
 Cuddington, 37.  
 Cullandt, Henry, 64.  
 Curtis, Isaac, 60.  
 Curtis, Thomas, 57.  
 Dagnall, John, 37*ff.*  
 Danvers, Henry, 150.  
 Davies, John, 146.  
 Davies, Owen, 119.  
 Davis, Joseph, 16.  
 Davisson, John, 17.  
 Dawbarn, R. B., 60.  
 Deal, 44.  
 Deane, Major, 251.  
 Delafield, Joseph, 37.  
 Delph, 203.  
 Denne, Henry, 43.  
 Derby, 152.  
 Dereham, 56.  
 Dike, Daniel, 125.  
 Disbrowe, J., 125, 152.  
 Dominel, Thomas, 13*ff.*  
 Dorchester, 255.  
 Dorset, Robert, 38*ff.*  
 Dossey, John, 127.  
 Dover, William, 38.  
 Dover, 44.  
 Drew, William, 118.  
 Drinkwater, 46.  
 Dublin, 55, 152, 255.  
 Dunaford, Martin, 198.  
 Duncombe, William, 38.  
 Duncote, 57.  
 Dunton, John, 147.  
 Dymock, 118.  
 East Dereham, 56.  
 Edwards, O. and S., 55.  
 Edwards, John, 100.  
 Ejection, 111, 117, 126.  
 Ellis, Richard, 146.  
 Ellison, Seacombe, 57.  
 Elwes family, 18*ff.*  
 Eversholt, 36.  
 Ewbanck, George, 147.  
 Ewins, Thomas, 219, 254.  
 Exeter, 98.  
 Eythorne, 41.  
 Facey, William, 198, 211.  
 Farmer, Edward, 148.  
 Farrant, 90.  
 Feake, Christopher, 124, 137.  
 Feake, Robert, 146.  
 Fenn, James, 49.  
 Fenton, J., 148.  
 Fernie, David, 56.  
 Fiennes, John, 123.  
 Fifth-Monarchy, 129, 202, 243.  
 Fisher family, 54*ff.*  
 Fisher, Samuel, 122.  
 Fort, John, 4*ff.*  
 Forty, Henry, 97.  
 Fowle, John, 90.  
 Fowler, Thomas, 38.  
 Franklin, John, 148.

- Franklin, Thomas, 38, 147.  
 Frewen, Paul, 118.  
 Fritton, Alex., 44.  
 Gainsborough, 64.  
 Gale, John, 17.  
 Gamston, 30, 127.  
 Garth, Gregory, 157.  
 Garvas, 188.  
 Geddes, Andrew, 9.  
 George, David, 43.  
 Gilbert, Samuel, 148.  
 Giles, John, 42, 49.  
 Gladman, Major, 252.  
 Glasse, T., 97, 100.  
 Glaziers' Hall, 179.  
 Glover, J., 148.  
 Godfrey, Major, 251.  
 Goodshaw, 70, 190.  
 Gosnold, John, 191.  
 Gower, Thomas, 180.  
 Granger, Richard, 2.  
 Gray, 60.  
 Greene, John, 147.  
 Gresham, James, 147.  
 Griffin, Hugh, 147.  
 Grindal, Swithin, 201.  
 Grove, Edward, 147.  
 Grymsdiche, 64.  
 Guston, 44*ff.*  
 Guyton, 60.  
 Habbleshorpe, 23.  
 Hackman, David, 147.  
 Haddenham, 37.  
 Haines, Richard, 186.  
 Halifax, 56.  
 Hall, Mary, 89.  
 Hall, Samuel, 92.  
 Hamerton family, 25.  
 Harlow, 37, 192.  
 Harris, Francis, 119.  
 Harrison, Edward, 36, 191.  
 Harrison, Richard, 118.  
 Harrison, Thomas, 147.  
 Harrison, Major-General, 150.  
 Harvey family, 41*ff.*  
 Haycroft, Nathaniel, 217.  
 Haydon, John, 90.  
 Hayes, John, 54.  
 Hayward, J., 148.  
 Hazzard, Dorothy, 215.  
 Headach, Thomas, 37.  
 Heather, Joseph, 147.  
 Hebden, Returne, 183.  
 Helwys family, 18*ff.*, 63, 195*ff.*  
 Hemel Hempstead, 36.  
 Henley, 36.  
 Henry, James, 44.  
 Herbert, Colonel, 255.  
 Hereford, 118.  
 Hewitt, 251.  
 Hewitt, John and Nathaniel, 147.  
 Hexham, 152, 179.  
 Hicks, James, 147.  
 Hicks, Thomas, 256.  
 Hieron, Philip, 147.  
 Highland, Samuel, 148, 510.  
 Hill, Thomas, 148.  
 Hill, Mrs., 90.  
 Hill, William, 127.  
 Hills, Henry, 151.  
 Hitchin, 51.  
 Hoare, Edward, 37.  
 Hobbs, John, 46.  
 Hobbs, Richard, 44.  
 Hobson, Paul, 151.  
 Hodgkin, James, 64.  
 Hollis, Thomas, 91.  
 Hollister, Dennis, 150, 222.  
 Honyburne, Lewis, 148.  
 Hooker, Thomas, 44.  
 Hooper, Richard, 198.  
 Hopper, Richard, 56.  
 Horrox, Thomas, 122.  
 Horton, Hur, 147.  
 Horton, 152.  
 Howlett, John, 38.  
 Huddleston, 56.  
 Hull, 224, 236*ff.*  
 Humber, Mr., 91.  
 Humber, James, 9.  
 Humber, Richard, 89.  
 Huntley, J. and W., 5.  
 Hynam, Henry, 226.  
 Hythe, 44*ff.*  
 Immersion, 31.  
 Ingelo, Nathaniel, 218.  
 Ingold, Daniel, 147.  
 Ireland, 251.  
 Ives, Jeremy, 177.  
 Jachin and Boaz, 65, 154.  
 Jackson, John, 147.  
 Jacob, Henry, 63.  
 James, John, 150.  
 Jarman, Searles, 46.  
 Jarman, Thomas, 43.  
 Jarvis, George, 89, cf 188.  
 Jefferies, Joseph, 146.  
 Jessey, Henry, 96, 124, 221.  
 Johnson, Benjamin, 89.  
 Johnson, W., 148.

- Johnsonian Baptists, 54.  
 Jones, Arthur, 147.  
 Jones, Colonel, 125.  
 Jones, James, 191.  
 Jones, John, 14, 146, 147.  
 "Joppe, James and Isabel," 3.  
 Juniper Dye House, 56.  
 Keach family, 94*ff.*  
 Keen, John, 38.  
 Kensworth, 36.  
 Kelly, Dorothy, 215.  
 Kidd, Peter, 147.  
 Kiffin, 151, 178, 217.  
 Kilkenny, 255.  
 King, 60.  
 Kingdon, Captain, 251.  
 Kingston, 36.  
 Kirby, Gregory and Peter, 146.  
 Knell, Joan, 41.  
 Knight, 57.  
 Knollys, 15, 120, 147, 180.  
 Knott family, 43*ff.*  
 Laborour, 188.  
 Lacy, Stephen, 46.  
 Lamb, Thomas, 15.  
 Lark family, 100.  
 Lawrance, Brother, 188.  
 Lawrence, Henry, 125, 149, 243.  
 Lawrence, Richard, 151, 251*ff.*  
 Lawson, George, 147, 151.  
 Leighton Buzzard, 39.  
 Leominster, 118.  
 Lewes, 46.  
 Light, John, 146, 178.  
 Lilburne, Robert, 152.  
 Line, Augustus, 38.  
 Lintile, 117.  
 Liverpool, 54.  
 London, Richard, 118.  
 Long, Thomas, 2.  
 Love, 97.  
 Lostock Gramam, 54, 256.  
 Lothbury, 179.  
 Low, John, 148.  
 Lucas, Mark, 33.  
 Lucas, T., 17.  
 Lucas, W., 148.  
 Ludgate, Peter, 38.  
 Luxford, John, 147.  
 Lymm, 57.  
 Mackenzie, 60.  
 Mackreth, Joseph, 147.  
 Mallorey, 90.  
 Mansfield, 56.  
 Manwaring, Colonel, 251.  
 Margate, 49.  
 Market Street, 37.  
 Markham, Colonel, 251.  
 Marlowe, 92.  
 Marlowe, John, 148.  
 Mason, James, 148.  
 Mason, Rob., 147.  
 Mason, W., 13, 92.  
 Medley, W., 146.  
 Mercer, R., 46.  
 Mercer, W., 9, 13.  
 Miles, M., 148.  
 Mill Yard, 182.  
 Millington, 55.  
 Milner, Thomas, 38.  
 Minchin, W., 147.  
 Mitchell, W., 65, 190.  
 Moone, 221.  
 More, John, 147, 178.  
 Morgan, Sam., 150.  
 Morley, Mr., 251.  
 Morris, David, 146.  
 Morris, Edward, 46.  
 Morris, W., 147.  
 Mort, W., 148.  
 Munday, John, 38.  
 Munday, Thomas, 220.  
 Murton, John, 64, 195*ff.*  
 Muskham, 56.  
 Naudin, Theodore, 176.  
 Needham, J., 51.  
 Netherton, 118.  
 New Mill, 52.  
 Newark, 56.  
 Nicks, J., 148.  
 Nicolas, Caleb, 147.  
 Norcott, John, 107.  
 Norgame, 44.  
 North Muskham, 56.  
 North, Thomas, 90.  
 Norwich, 56, 191.  
 Nottingham, 57.  
 Oakeford, James, 2.  
 Oates, Samuel, 151.  
 Okey, Colonel, 151.  
 Ongley, Samuel, 46.  
 Overton, Colonel, 151, 224, 236, 252.  
 Oxford, 36.  
 Packer, Colonel, 124, 152, 252.  
 Painswick, 119.  
 Palmer, Edward, 125.  
 Palmer, John, 146.  
 Parish churches, 121.  
 Parnham, Richard, 188.  
 Patient, Thomas, 255.

- Peake, Thomas, 52.  
 Pendarves, J., 36, 97.  
 Perkins, John, 147.  
 Perkins, Richard, 119.  
 Petty, Miles, 146.  
 Philpot family, 43ff.  
 Pickle, 57.  
 Pierce, Thomas, 9.  
 Pierson, Thomas, 147.  
 Pigett, Francis, 64.  
 Pinners' Hall, 90, 188.  
 Plaistow, John, 38.  
 Plant, Thomas, 17.  
 Plymouth, 95ff.  
 Poetry, 127.  
 Porton, 2ff.  
 Powell, Vavasor, 103, 124, 150.  
 Preston-by-Wingham, 44.  
 Princes Risborough, 37.  
 Pritchard, W., 117.  
 Punchard, W., 98.  
 Purchis, Jonathan, 49.  
 Purdy, Thomas, 49.  
 Purnell, Robert, 221.  
 Pyne, John, 150.  
 Pyrton, 36.  
 Quarrell family, 7.  
 Ramsgate, 47.  
 Ranger, Thomas, 45, 49.  
 Ranson, Lawrence, 148.  
 Raymond, Thomas, 147.  
 Read, John, 148.  
 Reading, 36.  
 Reeve, W., 149.  
 Reignolds, 250.  
 Reynoldson family, 56ff.  
 Rich, James, 147.  
 Richardson, James, 250.  
 Richardson, John, 147.  
 Richardson, S., 151.  
 Rickards, Joshua and Philip, 147.  
 Ricketts, George, 147.  
 Ridel, Thomas, 146.  
 Ridgway, Isaac, 57.  
 Righton, W., 146.  
 Roberts, Edward, 251.  
 Robins, James, 44.  
 Robinson, John, 63.  
 Rogers, 146.  
 Rose, John, 38ff.  
 Rose, W., 2.  
 Rose, Widow, 36.  
 Rosier, Daniel, 147.  
 Ross, 118.  
 Rossendale, 190.  
 Rotterdam, 227, 244.  
 Ruardean, 119.  
 Runwell, Emanuel, 146.  
 Russell, W., 146.  
 Rutherford, 56.  
 Rutter, David, 46.  
 Rutty, Samuel, 146.  
 Rye, 49.  
 Ryeford, 120.  
 Salisbury, 1ff.  
 Saller, William, 177.  
 Sanders, Matthew, 44.  
 Sandwich, 41ff.  
 Sankey, Colonel Jerome, 151, 251ff.  
 Sansom, 151.  
 Saunders, 151.  
 Saunders, John, 146.  
 Savage, Richard, 89.  
 Seale, W., 148.  
 Sealy, John, 147.  
 Sedgfield, J., 55.  
 Selbie, Thomas, 147.  
 Sevenoaks, 46, 49.  
 Seventh Day Baptists, 8, 89, 176ff,  
 256.  
 Sexby, 151.  
 Shawe, John, 116, 224, 236.  
 Shepherd, Robert, 146.  
 Shepherd, Sam, 57.  
 Shrewsbury, W., 147.  
 Simpson, John, 121ff, 137.  
 Skibbowe, 3, 196.  
 Skinner, John, 117ff.  
 Skipp, Judah, 92.  
 Sloe, Isaac, 2.  
 Sloe, Richard, 1.  
 Sly, 60.  
 Smart, W., 148.  
 Smith, 13.  
 Smith, Fr. 35.  
 Smith, Jane and Mary, 90.  
 Smith, Jonathan, 118.  
 Smith, Richard, 146.  
 Smith, Robert, 147.  
 Smyth, John, 195ff.  
 Snoath, Henry, 44.  
 Soone, Peter, 147.  
 Soursby, Henry, 15, 188.  
 Spence, William, 150.  
 Spencer, John, 124.  
 Spencer, Nicolas, 146.  
 Spilsbury, 151, 252.  
 Spittlehouse, John, 146, 177.  
 Squibb, Arthur, 150.  
 Squibb, Martha, 13.



- Stanger, John, 49.  
 Steed, Robert, 96*ff*.  
 Steele, Robert, 148.  
 Stelling, 46.  
 Stennett, Benjamin, 9.  
 Stennett, Edward, 9, 90.  
 Stennett, Jehudah, 9.  
 Stennett, Joseph, 8.  
 Stennett, Joseph, junior, 177.  
 Stephenson, J., 60.  
 Strange, Major, 125.  
 Studley, 36.  
 Sturgeon, John, 152.  
 Sutton-cum-Lound, 64, 128.  
 Swan Alley, 225, 240.  
 Swann, 125.  
 Swansea, 192.  
 Swetnam, J., 147.  
 Sykes, W., 225*ff*.  
 Talbot, Humphrey, 146.  
 Tappe or Toppe, 3, 193.  
 Taverner, Samuel, 44.  
 Taylor, 2.  
 Terrill, Edward, 213*ff*  
 Tetsworth, 36.  
 Thanet, 47.  
 Thomas, 90.  
 Thomas, John, 147  
 Thomas, Philip, 148.  
 Thompson, Samuel, 9.  
 Thurrowgood, Jonas, 51.  
 Tillam, Thomas, 177, 179, 188, 247.  
 Tippit, Lawrence, 2.  
 Tiverton, 1*ff*, 96, 193*ff*.  
 Todmorden, 60.  
 Toft, 191.  
 Tomason, Thomas, 55.  
 Tombes, John, 117, 122.  
 Toppe, James and Israel, 3*ff*,  
 193*ff*.  
 Toppe, John, 4.  
 Tottlebank, 55.  
 Tovey, William, 9.  
 Towcester, 57.  
 Towler, David, 147.  
 Trapnel, Anna, 124.  
 Traske, John, 183.  
 Trenick, Margaret, 100.  
 Tring, 52.  
 Trover, Thomas, 147.  
 Trowbridge, 17.  
 Tryers for the ministry, 134.  
 Tucker, John, 3, 196.  
 Tucker, William, 46.  
 Tufnel, John, 147.  
 Turner, 91.  
 Turner, John, 54, 147.  
 Turner, Matthew, 148.  
 Tyler family, 36*ff*.  
 Underhill, E. B., 212*ff*.  
 Vernon, Caleb, 106.  
 Vernon, John, 251.  
 Virginia, 46.  
 Wainwright, Thomas, 56.  
 Walcham, Thomas, 147.  
 Walcott, Captain, 251.  
 Wallin, Benj., 51.  
 Wallis, 251.  
 Wantage, 36.  
 Warbleton, 46.  
 Warford, 54.  
 Warner, James, 9.  
 Warren, Colonel, 251.  
 Warrington, 54.  
 Waterford, 255.  
 Waters, Mrs., 91.  
 Waterson, Michael, 148.  
 Watkins, Giles, 118.  
 Watlington, 36.  
 Webber, John, 147.  
 Webber, Thomas, 3, 196*ff*.  
 Wescot, Abel, 147.  
 West, George, 38.  
 Weston, Penyard, 117.  
 Wheaton, Elder, 192.  
 Wheeler, Thomas, 148.  
 Whitehaven, 56.  
 Whitewood, Thomas, 94.  
 Wilkes, Thomas, 147.  
 Williams, Isaac, 2.  
 Willis, 179.  
 Willis, Ralph, 148.  
 Wilmot, Giles, 37.  
 Wilmot, Philip, 36.  
 Willow, John, 147.  
 Wilson, James, 147.  
 Wingham, 44.  
 Winterbottom, 55.  
 Wisbech, 56.  
 Withinbrook, John, 147.  
 Wood, 46.  
 Woodward, 191.  
 Woodard, Robert, 148.  
 Worksop, 64.  
 Wormbridge, 118.  
 Wright, Jeremy, 147, 148.  
 Wright, Richard, 56.  
 Wyld, Simon, 147.  
 Young, Francis, 146.  
 Young, John and Robert, 147.